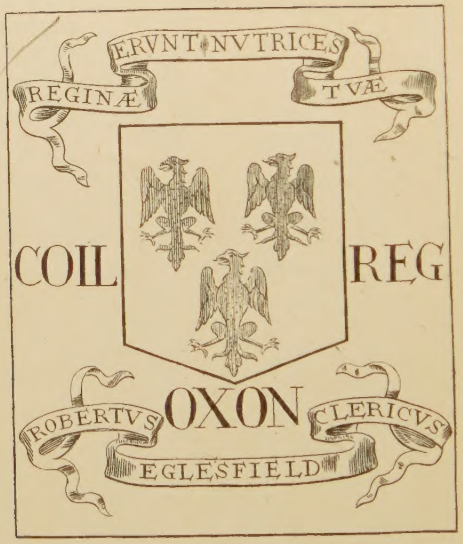

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ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL STUDIES

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AUTRE VUE DE L'INTERIEUR DE L'EGLISE DE CLUNI.

THE NAVE AND CHOIR OF CLUNY IN 1787

VUE DE L'INTERIEUR DE L'EGLISE DE CLUNI,

THE NARTHEX OF CLUNY IN 1787

ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL STUDIES

Being some Essays in Research in Medieval History

BY

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AN ABBOT OF VÉZELAY 1918

THE CHANTRY CERTIFICATES AND THE EDWARDIAN INVENTORIES OF CHURCH GOODS OF OXFORDSHIRE (Oxfordshire Record Society) 1919

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PREFACE

THESE essays were written and printed in reviews and publications of learned societies between 1903 and 1926. They are widely dispersed, and it was suggested to me by my friend, Dr. Claude Jenkins, that I should reprint them in one volume. There are sequences among them: six relate to Cluny and the English Cluniac monasteries, and they are the preliminary studies for a larger book on the English province of the Order of Cluny.

Cluny had a remarkable influence on English monasticism during the rule of the Norman kings, who ranked, with the kings of Spain, among the principal benefactors of the abbey. 'So long as the walls of Cluny stand, we shall not cease to offer prayers for our holy "founders," the kings of England.'[1] William the Conqueror sent Abbot Hugh a cope of cloth of gold with pearls and gems woven into it, and a fringe of little gold bells, and Queen Matilda a splendid chasuble, so stiff that it could not be folded.[2] The king asked the abbot to send six of his monks to England to help him in the rule of the Church, and he offered a hundred pounds of silver for each one of them. Abbot Hugh refused the request on the plea that he could not sell his monks, and would not send them to a land across the sea in which there were then no Cluniac monasteries, for Lewes was not founded until 1077. Henry I endowed Cluny with an annual payment of £66 13*s.* 4*d.* from the Treasury for the building of the great church of the abbey.[3] His daughter, the Empress Matilda, gave the tall, seven-branched candlestick of copper-gilt, adorned with crystals and beryls, which stood before the

[1] G. F. Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluny*, ii. 83.

[2] *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. Marrier and Duchesne, 453, 454; *cf.* Exodus xxviii. 34.

[3] *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, ed. J. H. Round, i. 507.

high altar,[1] and also the bells, which were cast for her in England of a different metal from the French bells.[2] In gratitude for Henry I's munificence, Abbot Peter the Venerable permitted him to invite a number of Cluniac monks from Lewes to be the first abbot and monks of the abbey which he founded at Reading.[3] King Stephen gave the manor of Letcombe Regis to Cluny instead of the yearly payment from the Treasury,[4] and he was permitted to have a prior and twelve monks from the Cluniac monastery of Bermondsey to serve God according to the Cluniac observance in the abbey, which he founded at Faversham.[5] Both Reading and Faversham were free from any obedience and subjection to Cluny;[6] neither of them entered the confederation of abbeys and priories, which constituted the Order of Cluny.

Four other essays are studies from the register of Robert Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury (1294–1313), which I have the privilege of transcribing and editing for the Canterbury and York Society; they illustrate the variety and importance of the documents in the register, relating not only to the diocese but to the province of Canterbury. I wish to thank His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury for the privilege of free access to the archiepiscopal registers in the library at Lambeth Palace, and the librarian, Dr. Claude Jenkins, for his courteous help.

I desire to express my thanks to the Editor of the *Journal of Theological Studies* for permission to reprint the essay on 'The Influence of Cluny on some other Movements of Monastic Reform,' a paper read at the International Congress of Historical Studies in London in 1913; to the Editor of the *Church Quarterly Review* for permission to reprint 'Life at Cluny in the Eleventh Century' (1916); to the Editor of the *English Historical Review* for permission to reprint four essays; 'The Papal Schism of 1378 and the English province of the Order of Cluny,' a paper read at the International Congress of Historical Studies in Brussels, 1923, 'The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV,' 'A Petition to

[1] G. F. Duckett, *op. cit.* i. 18, ii. 78; *cf.* Exodus xxv. 31.
[2] G. F. Duckett, *op. cit.* ii. 78.
[3] *Ibid.* i. 57, 58; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, iv. 575.
[4] G. F. Duckett, *op. cit.* i. 75, 76.
[5] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, iv. 574, 575.
[6] *Ibid.*

Boniface VIII from the Clergy of the Province of Canterbury in 1297,' ' An Ecclesiastical Tenth for National Defence in 1298,' which were published in 1908, 1919, 1922, and 1923; to the Council of the Royal Historical Society for permission to reprint from the Transactions the Alexander Prize Essay of 1903, ' The Intellectual Influence of English Monasticism between the Tenth and the Twelfth Centuries,' ' The Finance of Malton Priory ' (1904), ' The Metropolitical Visitation of the Diocese of Worcester by Archbishop Winchelsey in 1301 ' (1919), ' The English Province of the Order of Cluny in the Fifteenth Century ' (1924); to the Executive of the Society of Antiquaries for permission to reprint from *Archaeologia* (1924–5) ' The Order of Grandmont and its English Houses: Part I, The History '; to the Council of the Royal Archaeological Institute for permission to reprint from *The Archaeological Journal* (1921) ' An Interdict on Dover 1298–9 '; to the Council of the British Archaeological Association for permission to reprint from their *Journal* ' The Monastery of Battle ' (1924) and ' The Priory of La Charité-sur-Loire and the Monastery of Bermondsey ' (1926); to the Editor of the Shropshire Archaeological Society Transactions for permission to reprint ' Roland Gosenell, Prior of Wenlock 1521–1526 ' (1923–24).

The essay on ' The Civic Position of Women at Common Law before 1800 ' is only attached to medieval ecclesiastical history by the slender thread of the election of women churchwardens in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. I have included it because it has a human interest in the twentieth century, and my thanks are due to the Editor of *The Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation* (1917).

The majority of these essays have been reprinted almost verbatim, in others there is some slight revision, and I have added in the footnotes the titles and dates of books published after the essays were written.

My thanks are due to Mr. S. C. Ratcliff for the trouble he has taken in making the Index; to Monsieur L. Daclin of Cluny for the loan of the engravings of Cluny, and to the Abbé A. Lereclus of Ambazac for the photographs of the dalmatic and shrine; to the Council of the Royal Historical Society for the block of the Sketch Map; and

to Mr. J. C. Kenward for the loan of the block of the brass of Prior Nelond. The illustrations have been printed by Mr. Emery Walker who has made the the other blocks, and I wish to thank him for the trouble he has taken with some difficult subjects.

ROSE GRAHAM.

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Reproduced by permission of the Council of the Royal Historical Society.

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The brass measures 10 feet 2 inches by 4 feet 3 inches, the figure of the prior measures 6 feet 1 inch. The prior is represented in the habit of his Order under a canopy of three divisions supported by double shafts connected together by arches. In the centre a triple canopy supports a panelled basement, above which is a seated figure of the Virgin and Child. The side figures are St. Pancras in flowing robes, with the crown and palm of martyrdom, holding a book in his left hand and treading under foot an armed man, and St. Thomas of Canterbury

PLATE

in archiepiscopal vestments, his right hand raised in benediction, his left holding a crozier. Proceeding from the hands of Prior Nelond are scrolls inscribed **Mater sancta Jh'u me serues mortis ab esu ; Martir sancte dei duc ad loca me requiei ; sit sancte Thoma suscepta precacio pro me.** On an escutcheon at the dexter side is the verbal symbol of the Holy Trinity : a corresponding shield in the opposite corner is lost, also one side of the marginal legend and two pinnacles of the canopy. The inscription is :

Hic terre cumulus Thome Nelond tegit ossa
Est et ei tumulus presens sub marmore fossa.
Virtutum donis hic claruit et racionis.
Exemplisque bonis decus auxit Religionis.
Mundo Martha fuit sed Christo mente Maria.
In mundo viguit set erat sibi celsa sophia.
In maii mensis quarto decimo que kalendas
Ad celi mensis sedes migravit habendas.

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Reproduced from a plate in *The Builder*, April 6, 1895, by permission of the Editor, the rubbing of the brass is by Mr. C. W. B. Bridson.

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By permission of the Most Rev. Dr. Randall Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury.

ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL STUDIES

I

THE RELATION OF CLUNY TO SOME OTHER MOVEMENTS OF MONASTIC REFORM

In 910 William, Duke of Aquitaine, gave his town of Cluny with the chapel of St. Mary and St. Peter, and all other appurtenances, chapels, serfs of either sex, vineyards, fields, meadows, woods, waters and wastes, to Berno, Abbot of Baume, to found and rule over a monastery for monks who should live a regular life according to the Rule of St. Benedict.[1] A regular life according to the Rule of St. Benedict is a statement which lacks precision. The observance of the Rule, in the words of St. Benedict himself, was only 'the beginning of a good religious life,' and he counselled those who would seek perfection to study 'the Collations of the Fathers, their Lives, and the Rule of our Holy Father Basil.' In the main, St. Benedict dealt with general principles, and many necessary details concerning the 'Opus Dei,' and the daily life and government of a monastery, are not found in the Rule. The need of supplementing the Rule resulted in the growth of Customs. To know how the Rule was observed in a monastery is to ascertain what were the Customs.

The Customs which the monks of Baume brought to Cluny were those of Benedict of Aniane.[2] This was the testimony of the monk John, the biographer and friend of

[1] Bernard et Bruel, *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, i 124.
[2] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxxxiii 53.

Odo, second abbot of Cluny: 'Euticius instituted those Customs which have hitherto been observed in our monasteries.' He gave a short account of Euticius, the friend of the emperor, Louis the Pious, taken from Ardo's life of Benedict of Aniane, and Dom Marquard Herrgott discovered in a manuscript in Paris, formerly at Aniane in Languedoc, that Benedict's baptismal name was Witiza, which became Euticius in Latin.[1] Baume had been reformed by monks from the monastery of St. Martin at Autun;[2] Autun, when restored, had received monks from St. Savin in Poitou; and St. Savin was one of the twelve monasteries of Benedict of Aniane's own congregation.[3]

The Customs of Benedict of Aniane were the fruit of much study and research. He went from Aniane to other monasteries to find monks who might explain whatever he did not understand in the Rule of St. Benedict,[4] and he collected the texts of other Rules of Eastern and Western Monasticism for his great work, the *Codex Regularum*.[5] In a second book, the *Concordia Regularum*, Benedict of Aniane took the chapters of the Rule of St. Benedict, one by one, and set out passages explaining them from the other Rules of the *Codex*. He also compiled a book of homilies. Afterwards in the monastery of Inde, near Aix-la-Chapelle, which was founded for him by Louis the Pious, he questioned monks who had been at Monte Cassino and could tell him not only what they had heard but what they had seen.[6] In 817 Louis the Pious summoned a great council of abbots and monks to meet in July at Aix-la-Chapelle. They sat with Benedict for many days, and accepted the Capitula which he had drafted. His biographer, Ardo, summed them up as 'the judgements of the Rule, doubtful matters and Customs which are not described therein.'[7] The chief source was the Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict, written by Paul the Deacon, the author of the 'History of

[1] Herrgott, *Vetus Disciplina Monastica*, p. 14 (1726).
[2] E. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeingeschichtlichen Wirksamkeit bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts*, i 36, 37.
[3] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* ciii 383.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 365. [5] *Ibid.* pp. 393–702. [6] *Ibid.* p. 380.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 377; *Consuetudines Monasticae*, ed. Albers, iii 115–144; *cf.* Edmund Bishop, *The Origin of the Prymer*, Part II, pp. xix, xx (Early English Text Society).

the Lombards.'[1] Benedict also made use of the letter which Paul wrote for the Abbot of Monte Cassino, when he sent the correct text of the Rule of St. Benedict to Charlemagne.[2] In addition to the Capitula, Benedict also adopted, with trifling differences, a document known as the 'Ordo in monasterio qualiter a fratribus religiose ac studiose conversari vel domino militari oportet.'[3] This was written by an unknown Benedictine monk either in Italy or in Provence, and gives a clear account of the monastic day with its round of services, reading and manual labour, and moreover it contains the detailed procedure of the daily chapter which is not to be found in the Rule of St. Benedict. Lastly, he accepted a model of liturgical observance, a Directorium Chori, as Dom Albers calls it, which was most probably written at Monte Cassino in the eighth century.[4] The conclusion is that the Capitula of 817, the Ordo Qualiter, and a Directorium Chori represent the written Customs of Benedict of Aniane, which the monks of Baume took to Cluny. An important piece of evidence in support of this view, which has been ably put forward by Dom Albers, is the presence of the Capitula of 817 and the Ordo Qualiter in four English manuscripts of the second half of the tenth century.[5] There is little doubt that these were obtained from the Benedictine monastery of Fleury, now usually called St. Benoît-sur-Loire, which had been reformed by Odo, Abbot of Cluny before 930. By Odo's request a copy of Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia Regularum* was made for Fleury,[6] probably from a manuscript at Cluny; there was one in the library at Cluny early in the eleventh century,[7] and it is again included in the catalogue[8] of the library at Cluny of the twelfth century, together with his *Codex Regularum*, and a book of homilies which may be his third work.

[1] *Bibliotheca Cassinensis*, iv 1–173.

[2] *Consuetudines Monasticae*, iii 50–64.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 26–49, *cf.* p. xiv.

[4] Albers, *Untersuchungen zu den ältesten Mönchsgewohnheiten*, pp. 124–126.

[5] Mary Bateson, 'Rules for Monks and Secular Canons,' *English Historical Review*, ix 693–699.

[6] E. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, ii 145; *Inventaire des manuscrits de la bibliothèque d'Orléans, Fonds de Fleury*, ed. Cuissard, No. 203.

[7] *Consuetudines Monasticae*, ed. Albers, i 59, 186.

[8] L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds de Cluny*, p. 341.

The history of the growth of the Cluniac Customs is full of interest. In his preface to his own Statutes in 1132, Abbot Peter the Venerable observed that his predecessors, the great abbots from Odo to Hugh, had changed many Customs as need arose.[1] We owe it to the researches of Dom Albers that the texts of three versions of the Customs in the tenth century have been printed.[2] These consist solely of liturgical observances and the order of the monastic day. A much more interesting version[3] was written, between 1030 and 1048, during the rule of Abbot Odilo. Until quite recently these Customs were invariably accepted as those of the monastery of Farfa near Spoleto, which derived its Customs from Cluny, but Dom Berlière and Dom Hildephonse Schuster have shewn conclusively that they are the Customs of Cluny and not a compilation intended solely for Farfa.[4] The calendar is that of Cluny, the relics are those at Cluny, and the names of the monks are among those who witnessed charters at Cluny during the rule of Odilo. The first book of these Customs consists of the liturgical order for the year. It agrees, often verbally, with the earlier versions, and it contains much supplementary matter. There are many chapters concerning the observance of all the feast days which were then kept at Cluny.

The second book mainly concerns the daily life and organization of the monastery. The first chapter is a detailed and measured description of the buildings of Cluny. Seventeen chapters have titles closely resembling those of chapters in the Rule of St. Benedict, and are in fact supplements to them: *e.g.* cap. iii, 'Ad ordinandum abbatem,' contains details of the benediction of a newly elected abbot by the bishop; cap. iv, 'Vestibus fratrum mensuram hanc serva tuorum,' defines exactly the clothes of the monks. Fifteen chapters concern the 'Opus Dei,' arrangements for Mass, lights in the church, processions, prayers and services for rain and fair weather and against adversities, and the duties of three important obedientiars, the camerarius, secretarius, and granatarius. Other chapters

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* clxxxix 1025.
[2] *Consuetudines Monasticae*, ii.
[3] *Ibid.* i; *cf.* also Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* cl 1193–1300.
[4] *Revue Bénédictine*, xvii 164, 165, xxiv 374–385.

describe arrangements for boys who are being brought up in the monastery to take the vows, the minutio or periodical bleeding, and the daily maundy of the poor. One chapter has a list of the relics, another the schedule of the books which were given out one Lent, and a third the diplomatic form of the letters of commendation given to a monk on a journey. The book ends with twelve chapters about the care of the sick brethren and services for the burial of the dead, monks, bishops, and laymen.

As the first Customs of Cluny were those of Benedict of Aniane, it is natural to find that some of the additions in the second book are taken from the Capitula of 817. Others are based on passages in the Commentary [1] of Paul the Deacon, in which he wrote of the duties of the keeper of the infirmary, of the guest master, of the circas and of the masters in charge of the boys; of the division of guests into three classes, each with its own hostel, viz. abbots and monks, bishops and the rich, and the poor; of the infirmary cloister with its own chapel, the calefactorium or warming-house, and the auditorium or parlour. In the Commentary, too, the Cluniacs found that reading or psalmody might take the place of manual labour. They made use of that slightly later version which is known as the Commentary of Hildemar, because about 845, as Dr. Traube has shewn, a French monk of that name dictated Paul's Commentary to his scholars in the monastery of Civate.[2] Hildemar, too, added comments, and he alone described the interesting ceremony of collecting and distributing books at the beginning of Lent, so well known in later Customaries. The Commentary of Hildemar is in the catalogue of the library of Cluny of the twelfth century.[3]

Half a century after this last compilation of Cluniac Customs a new edition was needed, and the work was undertaken by a monk named Bernard. In a charming preface he told how the older monks of Cluny had passed away,

[1] *Bibliotheca Cassinensis*, iv 1–173.

[2] *Consuetudines Monasticae*, i 59, iii 120; Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti, Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xxi 640–643.

[3] L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds de Cluny*, p. 359; cf. *Consuetudines Monasticae*, i 59.

and disputes frequently took place between their successors about the Customs; there was great diversity of opinion and novices often went out from the chapter more uncertain than when they came in.[1] He resolved to search out the truth with his utmost zeal, both from the written Customs, and from what he had learnt and might be able to discover, and to leave a record for those who should come after him. The result of his labours was a most detailed compilation which bore the simple title 'Consuetudines cenobii Cluniacensis.'[2] He besought his brethren, when they thirsted, not to despise the draught of truth from a wooden vessel, nor to scorn the cold clear water because it flowed through a leaden pipe. His description of the Order of Divine Service throughout the year is very closely related to the first book of the Customs compiled in the time of Odilo. The more original and much longer part of his work concerned all the officers of the monastery, its finance, organization, and daily life.

These Customs of Bernard were printed in 1726 in that rare book, the *Vetus Disciplina Monastica*, edited by Marquard Herrgott, a monk of the Benedictine monastery of St. Blaise in the Black Forest. Two passages in Herrgott's text have puzzled some modern critics.[3] These mention Abbot Henry, elected in 1308, and Abbot Stephen, elected in 1163. When I consulted the manuscript in Paris, MS. Latin 13875, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, these difficulties disappeared. In the first only the letter H occurs, and it obviously refers to Bernard's own abbot, Hugh. In the second passage in which Herrgott printed 'Dominus Stephanus Abbas "Deus auribus" rescidit his tribus diebus,' the manuscript reads 'Olim "Deus auribus" dicebatur post primam in his tribus diebus.' Both these variations from the manuscript were in the text[4] which had

[1] Herrgott, *Vetus Disciplina Monastica*, p. 134.

[2] MS Latin 13875, Bibliothèque Nationale.

[3] Helmsdörfer, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Abtes Wilhelm von Hirschau*, p. 76.

[4] *Vetera Statuta ordinis Cluniacensis*, pp. 152, 204. The text reads: 'D. Stephanus Abbas "Deus auribus" rescidit his tribus diebus quod in aliis diebus a Septuagesima. Olim "Deus auribus nostris" dicebatur post Primam in his tribus diebus quod modo sicut aliis diebus a Septuagesima usque ad calend. Nov. post Orationem Vesperorum dicitur.' The Bibliothèque Nationale has a copy of this rare book.

been privately printed by the Cluniacs for their own use some years before Herrgott published his own. Herrgott wrote that he collated that printed text with the manuscript, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, then in the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.[1] He claimed to have purged it from an infinite number of errors, but these escaped his notice.

The history of Cluny in the first two centuries, from 910 to the death of Abbot Hugh I in 1109, explains the importance of studying the growth of the Cluniac Customs.[2] There is a striking parallel between the work of the first abbots of Cluny and of Benedict of Aniane. Twelve monasteries were founded or restored by Louis the Pious, bishops, and others, and were put under the rule of Benedict of Aniane, who sent to them monks and abbots whom he had trained. His Customs were adopted in many other monasteries not only in Aquitaine but throughout the empire. The abbots of Cluny were called upon by kings and princes, dukes, counts, and bishops, to send monks to new foundations, and to restore monasteries which had fallen into decay, a far harder task, as Peter the Venerable observed in a letter to St. Bernard. In 937 there were seventeen monasteries dependent upon Cluny; in 994 the number had increased to thirty-seven; in 1049 five new monasteries and twenty-three old foundations had been added. Under the rule of Abbot Hugh (1049–1109) the congregation consisted of two hundred monasteries, and of these many had a number of dependent priories.[3] The several abbots and monks of Cluny had reformed many other Benedictine monasteries which had adapted the Customs of Cluny for their own use, but had remained independent, and in their turn they had reformed other monasteries.[4] The Customs of these monasteries are closely akin to those of Cluny, but there are interesting variations in France, Germany, Italy, and England. Some of these have already been published by Dom Albers.[5] The English Customary, which was sanctioned at the Council of Winchester in the reign of King Edgar, is usually known as the

[1] Herrgott, *op. cit.* p. 133.
[2] *Cf.* U. Berlière, *L'Ordre Monastique*, pp. 188–218 (3rd edition, 1924).
[3] Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Congregationen*, i 243–245.
[4] Sackur, *op. cit. passim.*
[5] *Consuetudines Monasticae*, iv, v.

Regularis Concordia.[1] It was the work of Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester.[2] It shews a singular agreement with Cluniac Customs, which were adopted indirectly through Fleury, and there is also in some points an agreement with older Customs of Monte Cassino.

It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of the Customs of Bernard in England, France, and Germany. In 1077 Lanfranc sent for Henry, a monk of Bec, to be prior of his cathedral monastery of Canterbury, and for his guidance he wrote the monastic constitutions.[3] These are divided into twenty-two chapters. Chapters ii–xxii concern the daily life and administration of the monastery; with the exception of a few trifling additions, they are only a much abridged version of the Customs of Bernard. Chapter i, the Order of Divine Service throughout the year, was more difficult for Lanfranc to compile and it is difficult now to disentangle; the sources were the Customs of Bernard, the earlier Customs of the time of Abbot Odilo, and Customs of the tenth century edited by Dom Albers. Lanfranc stated that he had added a few things, and changed some, especially in celebrating some festivals.[4] In a few points the Order agrees in substance, but not verbally, with a Use of Bec. Too much prominence has been given to the Customs of Bec as a source for the Constitutions of Lanfranc.[5] It is interesting to discover the origin of this misconception. In the catalogue of the library at Canterbury, which was made in the time of Prior Eastry, between 1285 and 1331, the Constitutions of Lanfranc are described as 'Consuetudines Ecclesie Beccensis.'[6] Lanfranc's nephew, Paul of Caen, introduced the Constitutions at

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i pp. xxvii–xlv; Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* cxxxvii 475–502; W. S. Logeman, *Anglia*, xiii 365–454, xv 20–40; *cf.* J. Armitage Robinson, *The Times of St. Dunstan*, pp. 143–158 (1923); T. Symons, 'The Regularis Concordia,' *Downside Review*, 1922, pp. 15–30; 1926, pp. 157–171; 1927, pp. 146–164.

[2] *Compotus Rolls of the Obedientiaries of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester*, ed. G. W. Kitchin, appendix vii, ed. Mary Bateson, p. 173 (Hampshire Record Society).

[3] *Lanfranci Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles, i 85–191; Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* cl 443–513.

[4] *The Bosworth Psalter*, ed. Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 27–34.

[5] *Journal of Theological Studies*, x 379; E. L. Taunton, *English Black Monks of St. Benedict*, i 24.

[6] M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, pp. 49, 51.

St. Albans. Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St. Paul's, wrote that Paul of St. Albans 'ibi ordinem Becci instituit sicut usque hodie est.'[1] A copy of Ralph's works was then at Canterbury. If the monks who made the catalogue sought for any evidence beyond the fact that Lanfranc came from Bec, this identification was convincing. But Ralph took this from a parallel passage in the Chronicle of Robert of Torigny, elected abbot of Mont-St.-Michel in 1154.[2] Robert of Torigny quoted verbatim from the Vita Lanfranci[3] of Milo Crispin, precentor of Bec, and Lanfranc's own pupil. Robert had been a monk of Bec for many years, and in this passage he chose to interpolate the word Becci, which he did not find in his authority, Milo Crispin. There was no tradition at St. Albans in the earlier years of the thirteenth century that the Constitutions of Lanfranc were the Customs of Bec; Matthew Paris describes them as the approved Customs of monasteries beyond the seas.[4] Though he used the works of Ralph de Diceto and Robert of Torigny, he ignored the interpolation of Bec, and relied on Lanfranc's own very weighty words, in which he described his Constitutions as 'the written Customs of our Order which we have excerpted from the Customs of those monasteries which in our time are of pre-eminent authority in the monastic Order.'[5] M. le Chanoine Porée has discovered that Abbot Roger II of Bec (1188–1194) revised and re-edited the Customary, and that the sole surviving manuscript containing Customs of Bec was written between 1290 and 1310.[6] This contains either Roger's version or a yet later one. The main portion of it is liturgical. Owing to the agreement in substance between certain passages of the Customary and the first chapter of the Constitutions of Lanfranc, M. le Chanoine Porée infers that the liturgical part of the Bec Customs was the work of Lanfranc.[7] This

[1] R. de Diceto, *Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series), i 215.

[2] *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen; Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett (Rolls Series), iv 49: 'ibi ordinem Becci et ecclesiastici officii usum instituit, sicut est cernere usque hodie.'

[3] *Lanfranci Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles, i 308.

[4] Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. Madden (Rolls Series), i 23, 37; *Monasterii S. Albani Gesta Abbatum*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series), pp. 53, 58, 61.

[5] *Lanfranci Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles, i 85.

[6] A. A. Porée, *Histoire de l'Abbaye du Bec*, i 476.

[7] *Ibid.* i 477.

is a most reasonable conjecture. If it be accepted, it follows that the Customs of Bec of that date were closely akin to earlier Customs of Cluny, and that they were probably derived from those brought by William of Dijon to Fécamp and other Norman monasteries at the beginning of the eleventh century.[1] Lanfranc left Bec in 1063 to be Abbot of St. Stephen at Caen.[2] The probable date of the completion of the Customs of Bernard was 1067.[3] Therefore Lanfranc could not have had access to the main source of his Constitutions for Canterbury until after he left Bec. Dr. Armitage Robinson has shewn that the misleading title under which Lanfranc's Constitutions have been printed, 'Decreta pro ordine S. Benedicti,' occurs in no single manuscript.[4] It appears in the first edition by a mischance. The Constitutions were gradually adopted at St. Albans, Westminster, St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and in other monasteries.

Through the influence of William, who was abbot of Hirschau from 1068 to 1091, Customs derived from those of Cluny were very widely adopted in Germany at the end of the eleventh century and in the early years of the twelfth.[5] William had received a text of the Customs of Cluny which his friend Ulric of Cluny abridged and rearranged from Bernard's Customs.[6] Not content with this, William sent monks from Hirschau to Cluny in search of fuller knowledge. With their help he made a digest of the Customs into two books corresponding with the second and third books of Ulric. These were mainly copied from Ulric, but often supplemented verbatim from Bernard. They were first printed by Herrgott and have been reprinted by Migne.[7]

Hermann, Abbot of St. Martin at Tournai from 1127 to 1132, wrote that it was then hardly possible to find a monastery in France or in Flanders in which the Customs of Cluny were not observed.[8] In less than thirty years,

[1] H. Boehmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie*, pp. 6, 7; Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, ii 45–54.
[2] Porée, *op. cit.* i 118, 119. [3] *Histoire littéraire de France*, vii 596.
[4] *Journal of Theological Studies*, x 388.
[5] Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Congregationen*, i 253–256.
[6] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* cl 635–678.
[7] Herrgott, *op. cit.* pp. 375–570; Migne, cl 923–1146.
[8] *Spicilegium*, ed. Luc d'Achery, ii 913 (ed. 1723).

between 1092 and 1120, they were adopted by one monastery after another in the provinces of Reims and Sens, and in the diocese of Liège.[1]

The Cluniacs were influenced by Benedict of Aniane's conviction that wealth might be rightly used in the service of God, and that nothing was too splendid for His worship. The first church at Aniane had been a humble thatched building; the altar vessels were of wood, glass or tin, for Benedict rejected silver and forbade the use of silk chasubles.[2] Five or six years later he came under the influence of the renaissance of art which was fostered by Charlemagne, who had seen the splendour of the churches in Rome and at Ravenna, their mosaics and columns of marble. In 782, by the command of Charlemagne and with the help of dukes and counts, he built a vast and splendid church, and cloisters with many pillars of marble in the arcades.[3] The altar vessels were of the finest workmanship, the seven-branched candlestick, with its knops, bowls and flowers, was designed to be like that which Bezaleel made for the Tabernacle.[4] Seven lamps were suspended above the principal altar, dedicated in honour of the Trinity, and a hoop of silver lamps lighted the choir. There were silver chalices and costly vestments and beautiful service books. The first church of St. Mary, and the church of St. John in the burial-ground, were also within the precincts. There were vast monastic buildings, and Aniane was intended to set an example for other monasteries.

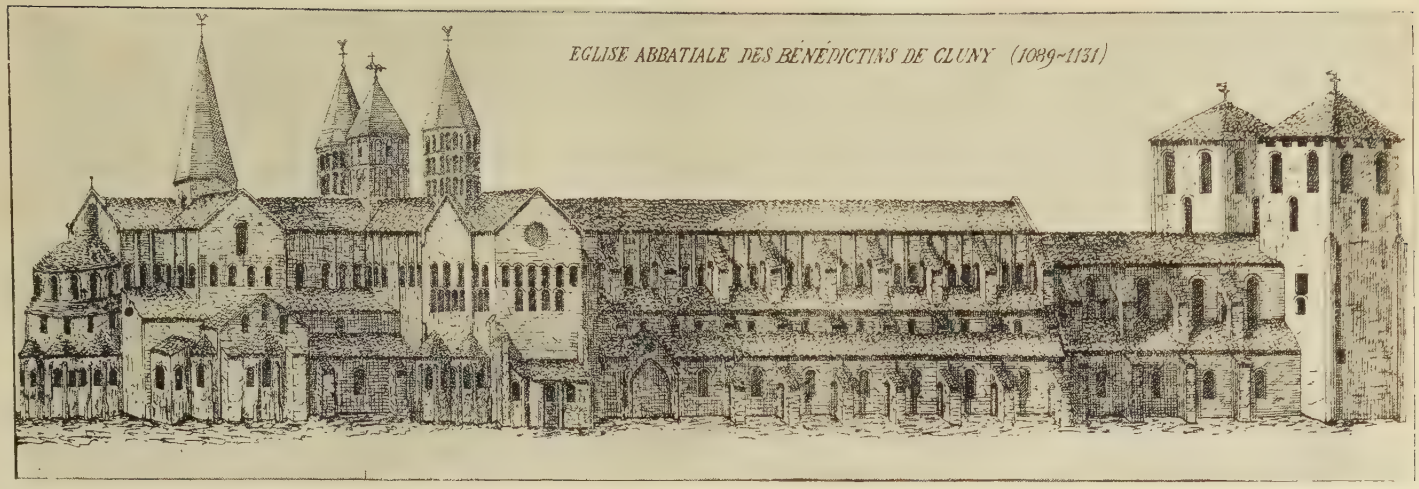
The first church at Cluny was soon too small; it was much enlarged or in great part rebuilt during the rule of Abbot Majolus (954?–994), and it was dedicated, on February 14, 981, by Hugh, Archbishop of Bourges.[5] The monk Jotsald, who wrote the life of Abbot Odilo about 1052 or 1053, told how he renewed all the buildings of Cluny within and without except the walls of the church.[6] The church was 140 feet long, 43 feet high, and there were

[1] *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, ii 258–263.
[2] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* ciii 360.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 363–365. [4] Exodus xxv 31–36.
[5] *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. Marrier and Duchesne, p. 1619, *cf.* p. 560; Sackur, *op. cit.* ii 372, 373.
[6] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* cxlii 908; *cf.* Jardet, *Vie de St. Odilon*, p. 673.

160 windows with glass.[1] At the west end was the Galilee, 65 feet long, with two western towers, and beneath them the atrium or forecourt where the laity stood that they might not be in the way of processions. Towards the end of his life Abbot Odilo built the cloister with marble columns which were brought at great cost from quarries in the French Alps down the Durance and up the Rhône to Lyons, and up the Saône to Mâcon. He restored the sides of the high altar with the gold offered by Sancho, a Spanish bishop.[2] After 1034 he built a splendid ciborium over the high altar with columns of silver and enamel of beautiful work. The Customs[3] mention costly hangings, altar cloths, vestments, banners, coronae or hoops of lights, and phares with light towers or lamps, gospel books, some with covers of gold and gems and others of silver, and gold and silver reliquaries. A building was given up to the goldsmiths, the craftsmen who cut precious stones, and the glass-workers. The third church of Cluny was begun in 1089; when consecrated in 1132 it was the largest church of the age, having double aisles, a double transept, and an ambulatory with radiating chapels.[4] There was no special school of Cluniac architecture.[5] Nevertheless it is clear that the Cluniac ideals of vastness and splendour in building, of costly ornaments and magnificent ritual, were followed wherever monastic revivals were related to the Cluniac Customs. The great seven-branched candlestick of Cluny, made like that of Aniane from the description of Bezaleel's work, was the gift of Queen Matilda, wife of Henry I, King of England.[6] There was a seven-branched candlestick at Winchester, the gift of King Canute in 1035, one at Canterbury given between 1107 and 1126, one at Bury St. Edmunds of about 1200, and the Durham candlestick was so immense that it was of the same breadth as the quire and reached almost to the vault.[7]

It was against this ideal of splendour that St. Bernard

[1] *Consuetudines Monasticae*, i 137.
[2] Jardet, *op. cit.* p. 673.
[3] *Consuetudines Monasticae*, i, *passim*.
[4] *Cf.* p. 43.
[5] Anthyme St. Paul, *Viollet-Le-Duc, ses travaux d'art et son système archéologique*, pp. 172–175.
[6] *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. Marrier and Duchesne, p. 1640.
[7] *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. J. W. Legg and W. H. St. John Hope, pp. 44, 47.



THE ABBEY CHURCH OF CLUNY IN 1713

Plate II

inveighed in the famous Apologia to William of St. Thierry.[1] After denouncing idleness, luxury in food and drink, and in dress, he wrote, 'These are small matters. I pass on to greater ones which seem less only because they are more common. I will not speak of the immense height of the churches, of their immoderate length, of their superfluous breadth, costly polishing and strange designs, which, while they attract the eyes of the worshipper, hinder the soul's devotion, and somehow remind me of the old Jewish ritual.' He charged the Cluniacs with investing money in costly ornaments that it might return multiplied many times. 'By the sight of wonderful and costly vanities, men are tempted to give rather than to pray. . . . In the churches are suspended, not coronae, but wheels studded with gems, and surrounded by lights which are scarcely brighter than the precious stones which are near them. Instead of candlesticks we behold great trees of brass, fashioned with wonderful skill and glittering as much through their jewels as their lights.'

Cluny was at the height of its power and fame at the end of the eleventh century, at the time of the rise of several new monastic orders in different parts of France. These were the Orders of Cîteaux, Fontevrault, Tiron, Savigny, Grandmont, and the Carthusians. They had their origin in a wave of asceticism, and the early success of some of them was due to the magnetic influence of great preachers.

Cîteaux owed its foundation in 1098 to dissensions within the monastery of Molesme.[2] In that year Robert, Abbot of Molesme, went with some of his brethren to the papal legate, Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons, seeking for permission to go out from Molesme and found a monastery in which they could order their lives wholly according to the Institutes of the Rule of St. Benedict. They complained that their Customs at Molesme were at variance with the Rule.[3] Within a few years a Book of Customs was written

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* clxxxii 914, 915; J. Cotter Morison, *Life and Times of St. Bernard*, pp. 130, 131, ed. 1868.

[2] J. Laurent, *Cartulaires de Molesme*, i 111–128, 146–152; *Monuments primitifs de la règle Cistercienne*, ed. Ph. Guignard, pp. 61–66; *R. Hist. Soc. Trans.* (new series), xix 169–207.

[3] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* clxxxv; *Exordium Magnum Cisterc.* p. 1008.

at Cîteaux. This 'Liber Usuum'[1] consists of the order of divine service throughout the year, of regulations for the details of the daily life of the monastery, and of provisions for its administration by the obedientiars. It is at once apparent from the structure, and from the headings of many of the chapters, that the compilers had before them some version of the Cluniac Customs, most probably that of Bernard or an abridgement. Before Robert became the first Abbot of Molesme he had been Abbot of St. Michel at Tonnerre,[2] a monastery which had been reformed by Cluny.[3] It is therefore natural to suppose that the Customs of Molesme were related to those of Cluny, and that when Robert left for Cîteaux he took a copy of the Customs as well as of the service books. When he was compelled by Pope Urban II to go back to Molesme early in 1099, it was agreed that everything which he had brought to Cîteaux should remain except the Breviary,[4] which the monks might keep for a few months longer to make a copy of it. The compilers of the 'Liber Usuum' accepted the Customs of their Fathers in France in so far as they did not conflict with the strict observance of the Rule.[5] But often the Customs of Cîteaux offer an absolute contrast with those of Cluny, *e.g.* in simplicity in the use of ornaments, in the shortening of services, in financial and economic organization. Orderic Vitalis[6] and others were justified in representing the Cistercians as innovators on Gallican monasticism, for in their determination to keep the Rule, 'as the Jews kept the law of Moses,' they rejected much of the tradition of monastic observance which Benedict of Aniane had derived from Paul the Deacon and other sources. Their writings shew that they were influenced by the lives of the Egyptian monks. Cluny had received churches, tithes, and serfs amongst other gifts of property from the earliest years of its history.[7] When Abbot Robert urged the monks of Molesme to give up churches and tithes,

[1] Guignard, *op. cit.* pp. 85–245; *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, ed. Séjalon, pp. 84–211.
[2] Laurent, *op. cit.* i 147.
[3] Sackur, *op. cit.* i 269.
[4] Guignard, *op. cit.* p. 66.
[5] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* clxxxviii 637, clxxxv 1011; Guignard, *op. cit.* 71.
[6] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* clxxxviii 935, 936.
[7] Bernard et Bruel, *op. cit.* i, ii, iii, *passim.*

the opposition party replied, 'So long as the Cluniacs and the monks of Marmoutier and others have obtained these things, we will not give them up, nor will we be condemned by our brethren far and wide as rash discoverers of new things.'[1] Churches and tithes were renounced by the first Cistercians. But the great innovation of the Cistercians was the system of government of their monasteries as set forth in the 'Carta Caritatis'; the new Orders followed them in adopting a yearly general chapter and an organized system of visitation. It may be argued that Stephen Harding and the first Cistercian abbots found a precedent for the yearly general chapter in the practice of St. Pachomius and St. Basil. On the other hand Dom Berlière points out that the summoning of such an assembly as a general chapter was not unknown in the history of Benedictine monasteries, and he suggests that the Cistercians followed their precedents. But as the study of the lives of the Egyptian monks so strongly influenced the Cistercians, it seems more probable that the idea of a general chapter was derived directly from Eastern monasticism.

The ideals and Customs of Cluny and Cîteaux had a strong influence on the Canons Regular. In the second half of the eleventh century successive popes made efforts to reform the lives of the clergy.[2] The result was a rapid growth of the number of communities in which priests bound themselves to live a regular life, and were known as Regular Canons. This involved the adoption of Customs or Statutes. An earlier reformer, Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz from 742 to 766, had drawn up for priests living in common a Rule which was in great part derived from that of St. Benedict. Owing to various causes that movement was a failure. Dr. Frere has pointed out that these new communities of the eleventh century began on various lines and spread widely before they accepted the Rule of St. Augustine.[3] He writes: 'There was a need of uniformity among the different houses of Canons; and there was also the need of some patron and some formula of life which

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* clxxxviii 640.
[2] *Fasciculus J. W. Clark dicatus*, pp. 186–188.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 208.

would enable the canons to hold up their heads in rivalry with the monks.' The so-called Rule of St. Augustine was adapted from a letter written by St. Augustine, when Bishop of Hippo, to a convent of nuns. It is very brief and touches the spirit of monastic life rather than its details. For this reason the origin of some of the Customs of Canons Regular is of special interest.

Among the most important of the Canons Regular in France were the Canons of St. Victor at Paris. Their founder was the famous scholar, William of Champeaux, who withdrew with a few other scholars to the hermitage of St. Victor in 1108.[1] In 1113 William became Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, and was afterwards one of the well-known friends of St. Bernard. The Customs of St. Victor [2] are ascribed to his successor, Gilduin, who was abbot from 1114 until 1155.[3] A number of the chapters are derived from the Customs of Bernard of Cluny, parts of them being copied absolutely verbatim; a few other details were borrowed from the Cistercian 'Liber Usuum.' Some passages may be the original work of Gilduin and his canons; of these the most interesting treats of the library, the care of books and the writing of new ones which made a special appeal to men who were scholars before they were canons. The house of St. Victor became an important centre of reform, the canons were sought out as heads of other communities, a number of other houses entered into relations with St. Victor, and in this way a congregation was gradually created.[4] Although these Customs were in the main derived from Cluny, there is some evidence to suggest that the system of government within the congregation was that of Cîteaux. Independent communities of Regular Canons adopted the Customs of St. Victor of Paris and varied them according to their needs in the same way as independent Benedictine monasteries treated the Customs of Cluny. The Customs of the house of Augustinian Canons at Barnwell, Cambridge, are a most interesting example.[5] On the

[1] Fourier Bonnard, *Histoire de l'Abbaye royale et l'Ordre des Chanoines Réguliers de St. Victor de Paris*, i 5.
[2] Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*, ed. 1783, iv 253–291.
[3] Fourier Bonnard, *op. cit.* p. 48. [4] *Ibid.* pp. 141–190.
[5] *Customs of Augustinian Canons*, ed. J. Willis Clark.

whole the Augustinian Canons were as loosely related to one another as were the Benedictines.

On the other hand, the Regular Canons of the Order of Prémontré were organized as an Order in the same strict sense as the Cistercians. Their founder was St. Norbert (1080 ?–1134). Having failed to induce the Secular Canons of Xanten to lead the regular life, he left them to become a poor wandering preacher.[1] After a time he settled with a few companions in a desolate valley in the forest of Coucy, near Laon, which received the name of Prémontré. Some months later there were nearly forty clerks and many laymen who had been attracted by his eloquence. His biographer records that he talked much with them about a Rule and the Institutions of the Fathers. The conflicting counsels of many bishops and abbots perplexed him greatly, for some advised that they should live as hermits or anchorites, others that they should follow the Cistercian way of life. But Norbert shrank from choosing a monastic Rule because it seemed to him that he would thereby detract from the canon's way of life to which he and some of his companions had been vowed from childhood. He sent for the Rule of St. Augustine and approved of it so strongly that on Christmas Day, 1119, all the community agreed to adopt it. The Rule appealed to Norbert because it could be interpreted in various ways, and he added precepts for a strict observance. His statutes were confirmed by Honorius III in 1125. Yet within a few years the abbots of the several monasteries which Norbert had founded practically agreed upon the Cistercian way of life. Norbert became Archbishop of Magdeburg in 1126, and shortly after the election of his successor, Hugh de Fosse, several abbots met at Prémontré to make provision for the future of the Order, which they believed to be in peril, and they agreed that, after the example of the Cistercians, they would hold a general chapter every year. It seems that either then or before the first general chapter they wrote a Book of Customs. These 'Institutiones Rerum Premonstratensium'[2] were divided into four parts, and the

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* clxx 1254–1344.
[2] Martène, *op. cit.* iv 323–336.

last contains some provisions which were added by the advice of the general chapter. The writers took the Institutes about the general chapter in the fourth part and the greater part of the first two divisions concerning the daily life and the officers of the monastery almost verbatim from the Cistercian 'Carta Caritatis,' Customs and Institutes. The third part consists of an elaborate table of penalties for offences which are more minutely classified than in other Customs. In one important particular, the Premonstratensians departed from the Cistercian practice, viz. in their system of visitation. The Order was divided into provinces, and two abbots were appointed each year as circators to visit all the houses in their province and report to the general chapter.

About 1097 the monastery of Arrouaise[1] in Picardy was founded for a community of priests who had been living for some years in the forest in huts around a wooden oratory. A stone church was built in 1106 and Pope Paschal II confirmed the foundation. The canons bound themselves to manual labour and silence, they ate no meat and wore no linen. Other communities submitted themselves to the authority of the abbot of Arrouaise; during the rule of Abbot Gervase (1121–1148) a book of Customs was compiled and a system of government was framed for the sixteen dependent houses. These constitutions of the Order of Augustinian canons of Arrouaise were confirmed by Innocent II in 1139; owing to the influence of St. Bernard they were largely derived from the Cistercian 'Liber Usuum' and 'Carta Caritatis,' and the Cistercian system of filiation and visitation was adopted.[2] The Order consisted at first of canons, lay brothers and lay sisters, and some other women who were not merely servants.

The revival of the double monastery is another instance of the influence of Cluny on later developments. About 1061, with the help of his brother Geoffrey, Count of Semur, Abbot Hugh founded and endowed a priory at Marcigny because there was then no refuge for women within the Order of Cluny.[3] The movement for monastic reform

[1] P. Gosse, *Histoire de l'Abbaye d'Arrouaise.* (Lille, 1786.)
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 59–77. The constitutions have not been printed.
[3] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* clix 949; *Gallia Christiana,* iv 486, 487 (ed. 1728).

associated with Benedict of Aniane was hostile to double monasteries. The foundation of new double houses had been forbidden by the Council of Nicaea in 787.[1] In his Rule for Nuns, written about 816, Amalarius of Metz ordered that the priests, deacons, and subdeacons who celebrate Mass for nuns should have a dwelling-place and a church of their own outside the nunnery.[2] No instance is known in the tenth century of a double monastery which was associated with the Cluniac reform. It was to ensure the most strict enclosure of the nuns that Abbot Hugh created a double monastery. At Marcigny the buildings of nuns and monks were remote from one another, but they had one common church in which a wooden screen separated the quire of the nuns from that of the monks.[3] At an early stage in the history of Marcigny the nuns were limited in number to ninety-nine and the monks to thirteen including the prior.[4] The prioress ruled over the nuns, the prior was their spiritual ruler and heard confessions. Both were appointed and removed by the Abbot of Cluny. Property was held in common. Two monks were appointed as procurators to manage the temporal affairs of the priory, in which the nuns had no share whatever. In the ordinary Benedictine nunnery of that age the abbess and her convent managed their own temporal affairs, and they were therefore not strictly enclosed. Marcigny attracted many women of noble birth; among them were Spanish and Scotch princesses, Adela Countess of Blois, a sister of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, and great ladies from Northern Italy as well as from many parts of France.[5]

The vocation of women for monastic life had a strong influence on the rise of some of the new Orders in France. Of these the most original was the Order of Fontevrault, which was founded by Robert of Arbrissel.[6] When at Angers in 1096 Pope Urban II bade Robert give his life to

[1] Labbe, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio*, ed. Cossart, xiii 755, cap. xx.
[2] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* cv 972, cap. xxvii.
[3] Cucherat, *Cluny au onzième siècle*, pp. 86–98, 219–251, 262–275, 2nd ed. 1873.
[4] *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. Marrier and Duchesne, Notae, pp. 86, 87.
[5] Cucherat, *op. cit.* pp. 86–98.
[6] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* clxii 1043–1078; Walter, *Die ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs*, i 144–173.

preaching. He spent the next four or five years as a wandering preacher in Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou, in company with two of his disciples, Bernard of Ponthieu and Vitalis of Mortain. Men, and still more women, of all ranks were attracted by him, and left their homes to follow him wherever he went. The throng became so great that Robert realized the need of a permanent dwelling and the discipline of a regular life for his community. He parted with Bernard and Vitalis and the majority of the men, and they afterwards founded the monasteries of Tiron and Savigny, the mother-houses of new Orders. Robert conceived the idea of founding a double monastery in which a large number of women should be served by priests and lay brothers. This was the origin of the famous house which he founded at Fontevrault in 1101. Before half a century had elapsed there were over fifty daughter-houses in France. The cloisters and buildings of the women were remote from those of the men.[1] The great Church of St. Mary was that of the nuns, to which the priests came only to celebrate Mass and to hear confessions. The monks had a separate oratory dedicated to St. John. There can be little doubt that Robert gave the Rule of St. Benedict to both monks and nuns; he added statutes defining the relations between the two communities. In these there was a striking contrast with the arrangements made by Abbot Hugh at Marcigny. By Robert's advice a woman was chosen to succeed him as head of the Order and Abbess of Fontevrault, one who had lived in the world and was skilled in the management of temporal affairs, for he feared that a virgin who was cloister-bred would wreck his work through ignorance. The duty of visiting the other houses of the Order devolved upon her, she rode abroad accompanied by two nuns, two monks, and two servants. Stores of all kinds, money, and books were under the charge of the nuns.[2] This last provision was adopted by St. Gilbert for the English double Order of Sempringham,[3] which owed much to the model of Fontevrault. Robert of Arbrissel

[1] L. A. Bossebœuf, *Fontevrault, son histoire et ses monuments*, pp. 48–85; cf. *Congrès Archéologique de France tenu à Poitiers et Saumur*, 1910, I pp. 48–64.

[2] Walter, *op. cit.* pp. 189–195; Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* clxii 1079–1086.

[3] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi pt. ii pp. xxi, xliv, xlvii, ed. 1846.

had feared opposition to the rule of a woman. Not long after his death there are signs that the monks resented their subjection, and Pope Calixtus II insisted on their obedience.[1] St. Gilbert set up two communities with a Master as supreme ruler, but three of the nuns from each house were summoned to Sempringham to take part in the election of the Master and to attend the yearly general chapter, and the women were visited each year by nuns appointed for the purpose.[2]

But the example of Marcigny was followed in the priories dependent on Molesme,[3] and in the first Cistercian nunneries,[4] and in those dependent on Savigny.[5] The Abbot of Molesme appointed a prior who acted as chaplain to the nuns ; under him were three monks who managed all the temporal affairs of the priory with the help of lay brothers. The Abbot exercised supreme jurisdiction over the nuns, and granted the right of election of a new prioress. All the nunneries attempted at some time to gain independence in one direction or another. Of these the most successful was Crisenon. The ruler of the women became an abbess, and when an annual general chapter was instituted, she secured the right of attending either in person or by proxy, whereas the other nunneries were represented by their prior. The first Cistercian nunnery was founded from Jully, the first nunnery of Molesme, and it is therefore natural to find that their affairs were managed by a chaplain and procurators. Similar arrangements prevailed in the thirteenth century in Cistercian nunneries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.[6] No Cistercian abbess had the right to attend the general chapter of the Order, but there is some evidence to shew that both in France[7] and in Spain[8] the Cistercian nunneries sent

[1] Walter, *op. cit.* pp. 166–171.
[2] Dugdale, *op. cit.* pp. xx, xxi, lvii.
[3] Laurent, *op. cit.* i 253–261.
[4] *Gallia Christiana,* iv 572, Instr. p. 158 (ed. 1728) ; *Nomasticon Cisterciense,* ed. Séjalon, pp. 360, 363 ; Guignard, *op. cit.* pp. 407–584.
[5] Auvry, *Histoire de la Congrégation de Savigny,* ed. Laveille (Société de l'Histoire de Normandie), i 312, 313.
[6] Dugdale, *Monasticon,* v 675 ; *cf.* A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Double Monasteries and the Male Element in Nunneries,' p. 160 in Appendix VIII to the *Report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Committee on the Ministry of Women,* 1919.
[7] Guignard, *op. cit.* pp. lxxxviii–xc, 643–648.
[8] Auvry, *op. cit.* i 209.

women representatives to attend a general chapter at the head nunnery of the province.

The conflicting influences of Cluny and Cîteaux on Benedictine monasteries in France have been most carefully traced by Dom Berlière in the *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*.[1] Before 1131 the Benedictine abbots in the province of Reims agreed to hold yearly general chapters, to shorten their services, to enforce the keeping of silence, and to increase their fasts. Matthew, Cardinal of Albano, sent a strong letter of remonstrance to the abbots; as prior (1117–1126) of the Cluniac house of St. Martin-des-Champs at Paris, he had been very active in promoting the reform of Benedictine monasteries through the adoption of the Customs of Cluny.[2] In the proposed changes he saw a reaction against the Customs of Cluny 'which have made you glorious and noble and have borne your names to the stars, and have taken away your bad and most evil name, and have given you a good and famous name.' The abbots made a vigorous defence, and reminded the cardinal that they had not been professed to keep the Customs of Cluny but the Rule of St. Benedict.[3] Robert of Torigny observes that the result of the new monasticism was a revival in the Benedictine monasteries of Normandy, and that monks from Cluny, Marmoutier, and Bec were chosen as abbots.[4]

Cîteaux had a weighty influence on Cluny. So stern a reformer as Peter Damiani praised the strict lives of the monks of Cluny under Abbot Hugh in 1063. Abbot Hugh was succeeded in 1109 by a favourite monk, Ponce of Melgueil, but his rule belied the promise of his earlier years.[5] In 1121 he agreed to resign and set out for Jerusalem. But in Lent 1125, when Abbot Peter the Venerable was in Aquitaine, Ponce suddenly returned, seized Cluny, and held it for six months by force of arms, spoiling the treasures of the monastery to pay his soldiers. The high standard had fallen greatly when St. Bernard criticized life at Cluny

[1] *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, ii 253–264; *Mélanges d'Histoire Bénédictine*, ed. Berlière, 1902, pp. 1–58 (4e série); *cf.* Berlière, *L'Ordre Monastique* (ed. 1924), pp. 277–293.

[2] Berlière, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, i 93–102.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 98, 103.

[4] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* ccii 1313–1320.

[5] Pignot, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny*, iii 1–46.

in his famous Apologia, written after 1125 to William of St. Thierry. Abbot Peter the Venerable attempted a more drastic reform than he was able to carry out. In 1132 he summoned the heads of all the Cluniac houses to come to Cluny on the third Sunday of Lent and to hear 'precepts of monastic life more austere than those which they had hitherto observed.'[1] They came from England and Italy and other realms besides France. Orderic Vitalis[2] was then on a visit to Cluny and walked in the procession of seven hundred and twelve brethren from the abbey church through the cloister to the Church of St. Mary opening out of the chapter-house. He told how Abbot Peter added fasts, took away times for speaking, and deprived the sick of some of their comforts. He wished to emulate the Cistercians and others who followed after new things. But in the face of opposition Peter dropped some of his most rigorous precepts. In his Statutes,[3] which were approved by the general chapter, he cut off luxuries in food and extravagance in dress and display. St. Bernard rejoiced over the reforms which Peter introduced at Cluny.[4]

Hugh V, who was summoned in 1199 from the English monastery of Reading to be Abbot of Cluny, promulgated statutes for the reform of various abuses in 1200.[5] He adopted the general chapter to be attended yearly by the priors of the Order. Imitating the visitation of Cîteaux by the abbots of the four daughter-houses, he decreed that once a year, on the octave of St. Peter and St. Paul, two abbots and two priors should make inquisition about the Abbot of Cluny, and the condition of the monastery in temporal and spiritual affairs, and correct everything and notify it to the general chapter. Priors should not be deprived except for some manifest reason, and this by the judgement of the general chapter. In each province one or more camerarii should be appointed to visit and correct under the Abbot of Cluny and to notify the results to the general chapter. This was a surrender of the former autocracy of the abbots of Cluny in favour of the con-

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* clxxxviii 935–936.
[2] *Ibid.* Cf. the plan of Cluny, *Recueil du Millénaire*, ii, Plate xi.
[3] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* clxxxix 1025–1048.
[4] *Ibid.* clxxxii 483.
[5] *Ibid.* ccix 882–896.

stitutional government which had been initiated by the Cistercians.

Although the records of the general chapters of Cluny have not survived before 1259,[1] a description of a general chapter in 1212 [2] throws light on the procedure, including the functions of the diffinitors who acted as an executive committee. The general chapter was adopted and in working at Cluny before the decree of the Lateran Council in 1215 that in every kingdom or province there should be triennial chapters of abbots and priors of all Orders that had not hitherto held general chapters.[3]

[1] A. Bruel, ' Les Chapitres Généraux de l'Ordre de Cluny,' *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xxxiv 542–579.

[2] Bernard et Bruel, *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, vi 5–13.

[3] Decretalium Greg. ix, lib. iii, tit. xxxv, cap. vii, *Corpus juris canonici*, ed. Friedberg, II 600.

APPENDIX

A Note on Bernard of Cluny

Nothing is known of his life. Henry of Ghent, Archdeacon of Tournai (*ob.* 1293), included Bernard in his book *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*.[1] Trithemius, Abbot of Spanheim, in a book with the same title, written about 1492, added that Bernard was 'a man skilled in the Holy Scriptures by constant meditation, and not unlearned in secular literature, conspicuous in the religious life and in honourable character,'[2] but whether he had any source for his comment except Bernard's own work, 'The Customs of Cluny,' is doubtful. In the seventeenth century, for the first time so far as I have been able to discover, he is identified by the Spanish writer Yepez[3] with Bernard, Archbishop of Toledo. Bernard de Séderac was a monk of St. Orens at Auch (department of the Gers), and was summoned by Abbot Hugh to be with him at Cluny.[4] In 1080, when Hugh was asked by Alphonso, King of Spain, to send him an abbot for the monastery of Sahagun, his choice fell on Bernard. In 1088 Bernard became Archbishop of Toledo, and held the see until his death in 1126. Yepez produced no evidence for his identification. It was repeated, though without any reference to Yepez, or any other proof, by Dom Calmet in his *Commentaire sur la règle de St. Benoît*, published in 1734.[5] It was accepted by Dom l'Huillier in his *Vie de St. Hugues*[6] (1888), on the authority of Dom Calmet. It appears to be an unsupported conjecture, which originated with Yepez.

Bernard's fame has been obscured by that of his more conspicuous contemporary Ulric, who wrote his "Customs of Cluny" for William, Abbot of Hirschau.[7] A careful study of the works of Bernard and Ulric reveals the fact that the whole of the three books of Ulric is found in the "Customs" of Bernard, which contain additional details. Both were known to Luc d'Achery, who edited Ulric's compilation for the Spicilegium in 1671. He chose the title *Antiquiores Consuetudines monasterii Cluniacensis*, which

[1] Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, ed. 1718, lib. ii, p. 119.

[2] *Ibid.* lib. iii, p. 88.

[3] Yepez, *Chronica de San Benito*, iii 179 (1610). 'Esto es aquel insigne varon llamado Bernardo de quien dize Trithemio en el libro de los Escritores ecclesiasticos que escriuio las constitucions Cluniacenses.'

[4] R. Ceillier, *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, xxi 420.

[5] Calmet, *op. cit.* i 293.

[6] L'Huillier, *Vie de St. Hugues*, p. 74, note 2.

[7] *Spicilegium*, ed. Luc d'Achery, iv 21–226 (1671); Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* cxlix 635–738.

has proved to be somewhat misleading to scholars, but an excellent manuscript of the late eleventh century, now MS. Latin 18353, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which he used for his text, has its original heading, *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*. D'Achery took his title from the book *Vetera Statuta Ordinis Cluniacensis*, of which the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale once belonged to the Cluniac monastery in Paris, St. Martin-des-Champs.[1] In that book the Customs of Ulric precede those of Bernard, which have as a title *Usus et consuetudines sacri coenobii Cluniacensis*. There is nothing on the title-page of this volume to show when or where it was printed.

D'Achery was content to conjecture that Bernard and Ulric were writing at the same time,[2] but the Abbé Duchesne had pointed out in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, published in 1614, that Bernard wrote before Ulric.[3] To the question why he edited Ulric rather than Bernard, D'Achery had a ready answer: 'Truly on account of the renown of Ulric's name, and because he wrote in a fairer style and with better arrangement, and he made use of dialogues.' The first of these statements is an obvious truth. Ulric, the chaplain of Abbot Hugh, became prior of Marcigny, and was afterwards sent to found the priories of Rumelingen and Zelle.[4] Not many years after his death in 1093 his life was written and dedicated to Abbot Hugh.[5]

D'Achery's second argument is less convincing. He urged that Ulric 'made use of the dialogue, a method of writing which, especially when monastic life and ceremonies are in question, instructs the mind in an easier way and persuades it.' But there is no dialogue at all in the second and third books of Ulric, and although questions occur at the beginning of the chapters of the first book, or later on in them, it is obvious that occasionally the question was asked, because a reply was the easiest method of introducing some additional matter from Bernard. It is a hard saying that Ulric's style is either *comptior* or *luculentior*, for although he often inverts the order of Bernard's words, he usually follows him almost verbatim. Mabillon also held that the arrangement of Ulric's work was better than that of Bernard. Ulric began with the Order of Divine Service, as in the earlier Customs, Bernard with the most original part of his work, the duties of the officers of the monastery and its daily life. Bernard's work was in one book, Ulric divided his into three and made a greater subdivision into chapters, but after all this is a trivial part of the task of an editor.

[1] Besse, 'L'Ordre de Cluny et son gouvernement,' *Revue Mabillon*, i 20, 21.

[2] *Spicilegium*, iv 9.

[3] *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. Marrier et Duchesne, Notae, p. 23.

[4] E. Hauviller, 'Ulrich von Cluny,' *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*, Band III, Heft iii, pp. 43–64.

[5] *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, ed. Pertz, *Scriptores*, xii 249.

Dom Martène realized that Bernard wrote in greater detail than Ulric, and often quoted him in *De Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*. Another Benedictine, Marquard Herrgott, of the monastery of St. Blaise in the Black Forest, who printed the Customs of Bernard in 1726, agreed with Duchesne that Bernard wrote before Ulric.[1]

The date of Ulric's work is fixed approximately by his statement, in his letter of dedication to William of Hirschau, that the priory of La Charité-sur-Loire was not yet in its thirtieth year.[2] The date of the foundation of La Charité has usually been accepted as 1056, but it has recently been pointed out from documentary evidence that it was probably 1054 or 1055.[3] Ulric may have been writing his letter as early as 1083, when his work was complete.[4] Its origin is well known. In 1077 a papal legate, Bernard, Abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles, came to Hirschau and made a stay of a year in the monastery.[5] The Abbot, William, was a zealous reformer, and Bernard, though never himself a monk of Cluny, counselled William to choose Cluny as his model of monastic life. Soon after the legate's departure, Abbot Hugh of Cluny sent Ulric on a mission to Germany, and on the way he turned aside to Hirschau to visit the abbot, a friend of his boyhood, 'a second Cleophas.'[6] William rejoiced greatly to see him; they had much talk about the Customs of Cluny, and Ulric gave a promise to write them out and send them to him. It was a heavy labour, and when his task was accomplished, a cry of relief escaped from Ulric. 'You can see that I have not been negligent,' he wrote to William, 'for you have the Customs of our monastery which I have noted down, whenever they are collected, in so far as I have been able to discover them or to remember them. If when you have read them once, you lay aside the parchments and care no more about them, for what purpose have you put this so great burden upon me? I cannot

[1] Herrgott, *Vetus Disciplina Monastica*, p. 133.

[2] *Spicilegium*, iv 23.

[3] L'Huillier, *Vie de St. Hugues*, p. 74, note 2.

[4] Dr. Hauviller has concluded that Ulric had completed the three books before 1085, certainly before 1087, when Ulric was at Gröningen. He has rightly rejected Dr. Helmsdörfer's theory that Ulric wrote the first two books on the journey between his two visits to Hirschau on the mission to Germany (*cf.* Helmsdörfer, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Abtes Wilhelm von Hirschau*, p. 25, note 1). But Dr. Hauviller is convinced that William of Hirschau had received the first two books before he asked Ulric to write the third. This statement is apparently based on a misunderstanding of the introduction to the third book, which, as Ulric states in the letter of dedication, was rather a conventional piece of work. In support of his conviction Dr. Hauviller is forced to deny that Ulric revisited Hirschau immediately after his visit to the Emperor in 1078, and to insist that the second visit was paid some years later, a direct contradiction of Ulric's own statement; *cf.* his *Ulric von Cluny*, p. 68.

[5] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* cl 927–929.

[6] *Ibid.* cxlix 643.

keep silence, the negligence of others has compelled me to write this, for though at first exceeding curious, I know that afterwards they did so.' Ulric added that he had written in the form of a dialogue, because William would remember how they had much talk together; as he himself was an obscure person, his very name barbarous and his style rustic, he had nowhere mentioned his own name, and he had not written the usual preface. He had divided the work into three parts, concerning the order of divine service throughout the year, the instruction of the novices, and the duties of the obedientiaries; to each of them he had written a little introduction in praise of William and of what he had seen at Hirschau.

William of Hirschau studied the work on the Customs of Cluny which he received from Ulric. He realized that much was wanting and that he could not gain a full knowledge of life in that monastery from Ulric's work alone, so he sent two of his monks to Cluny. 'two more and again two more. They searched out the secrets of the Order with such diligence that their masters who heard them recite the written Customs affirmed that no disciples of that spiritual school had ever attained so full or so true an understanding of the life of the monastery.' With their aid Abbot William made a digest of the Customs, with some few changes and additions, into two books corresponding with the second and third books of Ulric.[1] His work was first edited by Marquard Herrgott in the *Vetus Disciplina Monastica*, under the title *Constitutiones Hirsaugienses seu Gengenbacenses*; it was mainly derived from Ulric, but supplemented either in substance or verbatim from the Customs of Bernard, a proof that the brethren of Hirschau learnt from them at Cluny. There are a number of instances, of which three are now given as illustrations:

(1) In the 'Customs of William of Hirschau,' Lib. II, cap. ii, 'Quid agendum sit si forte negligentia aliqua in corpore vel in sanguine domini evenerit,' which is not in Ulric, is taken almost verbatim from Bernard, I, lxxiv, no. lxv.

(2) Lib. II, cap. v. 'De suscipiendis personis' is taken from Bernard, I, cap. xxiii.

(3) Lib. II, cap. xxvii. 'De custode ecclesie' contains several sentences and paragraphs, not found in Ulric, which occur in Bernard, I, lii–lxii, some of them being taken verbatim.

In the text of William of Hirschau, which is printed in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. cl, as a reprint from Herrgott's text,[2] asterisks are said to be placed against passages which do not

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* cl 929.

[2] It may be noted here that there is a 12th century manuscript of the Customs of Hirschau in the British Museum, MS. Add. 20696.

occur in Ulric, but it should be noticed that these asterisks have not always been correctly inserted ; in fact, they are so frequently wrong that it is necessary to compare every chapter with Ulric.

The words of the preface in which Bernard dedicated the Customs to Abbot Hugh are a strong argument in support of the priority of his work. Had Ulric's work been already written, it would have been impossible for disputes to arise frequently in chapter about the interpretation of the Customs—in short, there was little reason for Bernard's labours.

Although Bernard's work was accessible to Ulric before 1080, it is impossible to discover how long it had been written. Trithemius, Abbot of Spanheim, wrote of Bernard, 'Claruit 1050,' in his *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*,[1] published in 1492, and in his 'Chronicle of Hirschau,'[2] '*circa* 1056,' this being perhaps a printer's error, for it seems probable that Trithemius copied the date 1050 from Henry Archdeacon of Tournai's book, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*.[3] It is impossible to attach a precise meaning to the 'claruit' of a medieval writer, and the Archdeacon of Tournai may have written 1050 against Bernard's name because Hugh was elected Abbot of Cluny in 1048. The manuscript of Bernard's Customs now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 13875, has been assigned by Monsieur Delisle to the beginning of the twelfth century.[4] It contains references to Marcigny, which was not founded until 1061, and to Ferdinand, King of Spain, who died in 1065. There is nothing to suggest that these facts are later additions, and the second would warrant the acceptance of the date, *circa* 1067 or 1068, put forward in the *Histoire littéraire de France*.[5]

[1] Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, lib. iii, p. 88.
[2] Trithemius, *Chronicon Monasterii Hirsaugiensis*, p. 68.
[3] Fabricius, *op. cit.* lib. ii, p. 119.
[4] *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds de Cluny*, ed. L. Delisle, No. 1917.
[5] *Histoire littéraire de France*, vii 595–597, x, lxv, lxvi.

II

LIFE AT CLUNY IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

THE little town of Cluny is charmingly situated on the River Grosne in a wide valley among the high limestone hills known as the Montagnes du Mâconnais et du Charolais, which are outliers of the northern chain of the Cevennes. The lower slopes of these wooded hills are covered with vineyards, and the fields and pastures of the valley are very fertile. Cluny is about twelve miles north-west of Mâcon, a town on the wide and navigable River Saône which flows into the Rhône at Lyons. Mâcon is on the Voie Agrippa, the great Roman road which led from Boulogne through Avallon and Autun to Lyons, and was followed by pilgrims from England and the north of France to Italy. Another road, which was often chosen to shorten the distance, branched off at Autun and passed over the mountains within a few miles of Cluny through Sainte-Cecile, Clermain, Brandon, Ouroux, Avenas to Belleville, where it joined the main road between Mâcon and Lyons.[1]

Cluny was in the Duchy of Burgundy which has been called the cross-roads of Europe, since it lay between Northern and Southern France, and was connected by trade routes with Germany, the Low Countries and Spain.

In the charter by which William, Duke of Aquitaine, founded Cluny in 910, he set forth his ideal for the community:

'With a full heart and mind the monks shall build an exceeding pleasant place, so far as they can and know how. We will also that in our time and those of our successors, works of mercy shall be shewn daily to the poor and needy, to travellers and pilgrims so far as the opportunity and ability of the place shall allow.'[2]

[1] Pignot, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny*, i 29–31.
[2] *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, ed. Bernard et Bruel, i 124.

The first monks of Cluny had a struggle with poverty : the founder died in 918, and in 926 the church was still not finished.[1] When Odo succeeded Abbot Berno in 927 he had not the money to pay for the other buildings of the monastery, and it was only through the generosity of friends in Aquitaine that he was able to go on with the work.[2] But the fame of the good lives of the monks of Cluny was rapidly spread abroad, and lands, property and privileges of every kind were granted to the monastery. The charters of Cluny have been printed in the *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, and four large quarto volumes are filled with those granted before 1091 ; among the benefactors were popes, emperors, kings, dukes, counts and even the smallest landowners, priests, and women of all ranks. New priories were founded when lands were granted at a long distance from Cluny, and a yearly pension was paid from them to the mother-house.

Early in the second half of the eleventh century a monk named Bernard wrote a detailed account of the daily life of the monastery which he called the 'Customs of Cluny.'[3] The work was dedicated to Abbot Hugh, for, wrote Bernard, 'whatever I have apprehended of the way of religion is rather of your gift than of my own industry.' It still contains the most complete and detailed account of the occurrences of everyday life in a great mediaeval monastery.

Cluny then possessed considerable estates within a radius of a few miles. These were divided into obediences or deaneries, and monks called deans were put in charge of them, and lived there with another monk as a companion, and some servants, who were distinguished by their beards. The dean was entirely responsible for the cultivation of the fields and vineyards, and the care of the horses, cattle, sheep and pigs. When both harvest and vintage were over, the prior of Cluny came round and looked at the barn and the cellar, decided what should be kept, and ordered the rest to be sent to the monastery. The dean

[1] The Church is first described as consecrated in 927, *Recueil des Chartes*, i 280, *cf.* also p. 264, and Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* cxxxiii 98.

[2] Migne, *op. cit.* pp. 61, 62.

[3] Cf. *ante*, pp. 5, 6.

paid over all money received for rents and dues at his obedience to the *camerarius* or chamberlain of Cluny, who handed him back a third for the expenses of agriculture and the maintenance of himself and his guests, for in the words of Bernard 'if these were not received, it would be altogether inhuman.' If women came and hospitality could not be denied them, the dean never sat at table with them. If the obedience lay within half a day's ride of Cluny the dean returned to the monastery every Saturday before Vespers to spend Sunday there. He ambled along and was forbidden to gallop, or even to run on foot, except when in peril of fire or of death. However great the heat he was not allowed to take off his frock and ride only in his cowl. When on the road at the times for the services of the Hours, he dismounted, pulled his hood off his head, and said the service.

If deaneries were situated so far off that the corn and wine could not be carried to Cluny, they were sold, and the money was sent to the chamberlain. When the prior returned from his autumn round of visits to the deaneries, he told the keeper of the wine how much would be sent from each place. The vineyards at Cluny and close by were under the direct supervision of the keeper of the wine; he got money from the chamberlain to pay the wages of all the labourers hired for the vintage, for new hoops for the wine casks and for other repairs. It was the duty of the sacrist to watch for the ripening of the first grapes and to bring some to the church to be blessed at Mass. These were afterwards distributed to the monks in the refectory or frater.

The keeper of the granary checked and stored the bushels of corn, barley and beans sent in from the deaneries, according to the prior's list.

The chamberlain was the treasurer and also the chief buyer of the monastery, and whether he bought or sold, he gave a little more or took a little less in accordance with St. Benedict's precept that monks should sell for less than others. He received all gifts of gold, silver and animals. The cows he handed over to the cellarer as the dairy was under his charge, and also any donations of ten shillings

and under to provide special food for sick and delicate brothers. Gold and silver vessels, any cup suitable for a chalice, hangings and vestments, were all given to the sacrist. Friends of the monastery who had not lands or anything else to offer sometimes promised to pay five or ten shillings a year or more or less; the chamberlain set aside these sums for the repair of the pipes which brought the water into the lavatory or washing-place in the cloister.

The chamberlain provided all the clothes, shoes and bedding of the monks. He bought cloth and fur, both of a cheap quality, and employed a number of tailors in a workshop in the monastery,[1] making the new clothes which were given out at stated times in the year. Each monk had a new frock and a new cowl once a year, and a new sheepskin pelisse every three years, and shirts and drawers when he needed them. His whole wardrobe consisted of two frocks, two cowls, two shirts, two pairs of drawers, two pairs of day-shoes with straps, one pair of night-boots of felt for the winter, and another pair without felt for the summer nights, two pairs of gaiters, three pelisses or instead of one of them a sort of fur petticoat or kilt, a hood made of skins, five pairs of stockings, a linen girdle, a leather strap from which hung his knife in its sheath, a needle with cotton in a case. His bed was of hay which was renewed every summer and he had a pillow, a coverlet, and apparently two blankets. The coverlet was of sheepskin, cat-skin or hare-skin.

Once or twice a day according to the seasons there was a short time when the monks were allowed to talk in the cloister, and then either the chamberlain or his junior was always present to hear if any of the monks, novices or children needed anything. The monk who found that his cassock, shirt or drawers were torn but worth mending, put them at dawn under one of the arches of the chapter-house, and the junior chamberlain carried them off to the tailors' workshop, and brought them back before vespers. Shoes and stockings to be mended were put on the stone below the arch, and bed coverlets on the wall by the step of the dormitory or dorter. If a monk's shoes wanted greasing,

[1] *Consuetudines Monasticae*, ed. Albers, i 138.

he first washed them in a special trough, then got some grease from the chamberlain and went to the kitchen to rub it in, or if he liked, the chamberlain had it done for him. When new drawers were given out, each monk wrote his name on them in ink, and the chamberlain took them back to the tailors' shop to be marked in thread. Every Tuesday clothes to be washed were piled up in a chest in the cloister, the keeper of the granary admitted the washers when the monks were at morning Mass; and another monk was present to keep a record either in writing or by tally of the clothes taken away; these were brought back on Saturdays after the service of None, and he sat in the cloister watching to see that no monk was so careless as to take anything not marked with his own name. Clothes and everything else left about in the cloister were taken into the chapter-house and put behind the pulpit. At the daily morning meeting, after the words 'Let us speak about our Order' were said, anyone who had lost anything got up to see if it was there; if he found it he begged pardon and asked the prior for leave to take it: this was granted unless it was a monk who was in the habit of losing his clothes, and then he suffered some penalty for it.

The cellarer was responsible for the food of the monastery, with the help of several monks who held office under him. The keeper of the granary sent his servants out to the woods with asses to bring back fuel for the kitchens and the bakers' oven. The bakers too were his servants, and if they did not produce the full tale of loaves from each bushel, or if the bread was not good, it was his business to take them before the prior or cellarer to be beaten. The servants who suffered this penalty had a right to claim half a pound of bread and a cup of wine to be given them immediately. If the bread was burnt the servants of the monk who laid the tables in the refectory or frater tucked napkins under their chins, held the loaves against their chests and scraped them with their knives. The usual allowance of bread for each monk was a pound a day, but if a monk had eaten it all at dinner, he was given another half-pound at supper. The wine was measured out for each monk, and poured into his drinking-cup, which was

covered with a twig of box to keep out the flies, and a twig of vine dipped in glue was put in his place as a fly trap, and renewed every other day.

Dinner consisted of three courses: the first of dried beans, and the third of other vegetables which were supplied by the gardener; these were cooked in the monks' kitchen by the monks who served in turns, six a time. The second course was cooked by the servants in another kitchen; on Sundays and Thursdays fish was provided, on the other days either cheese or eggs, of which four or five were allowed for each monk. If by any chance this second course was not cooked by the right time, it was the cellarer's duty to take away the hammer, so that the bell could not be sounded for dinner, and the keeper of the granary took it away if the bread was not ready. On certain feast days instead of beans the monks had onions, little cakes and spiced wine. The cellarer had lands close to Cluny where he pastured his horses and set nets in the river. The monk who looked after the fishing had a privilege granted to no one else, for he was allowed to ride through the great gateway facing the church and so on to the kitchen with his fish, and he might go out of the monastery to set nets after vespers. If he had not enough fish, the cellarer might only buy it when it was at a reasonable price. Cowsheds, pigsties, sheepfolds, and rams were under the cellarer's charge, and he had a list of the live-stock at each deanery. All cheeses and eggs offered to the monastery were given to him, unless the sacrist had some work in hand, and then he was allowed some to feed his servants. The candles used in the church and in the monastery were made in the sacristy.

If a monk was not well, the cellarer provided him with more delicate food in the refectory, but if he did not get better he was sent into the infirmary to try a meat diet for a time; so long as he was there he walked with a stick and went about with his hood over his head. The infirmary was close to the church of St. Mary to which invalid monks went for the services of the Hours, but if they could they walked to the great church for Mass. There were several rooms in the infirmary besides the kitchen and scullery, and it was under the charge of a monk called the *infirmarius*

who had a cook and three other servants for the ordinary work. Whenever a monk was seriously ill another monk was sent into the infirmary to watch by him and wait on him. The keeper of the infirmary drew his daily supplies from the cellarer and got money from the chamberlain to buy other things. In his own store he always kept candles, pepper and cummin, besides ginger and various roots, so that if anyone was ill and had a sudden attack of pain, he could give him a drink of spiced wine. Those who were well enough to be up had each his own little table and chair, and the keeper brought the dishes into the different rooms himself; if they wanted anything else they hit the tables with their knives, and when one of the servants came, they said 'Bring me some salt or some mustard.'

The test of complete recovery was that a monk should at once be able to do his week's service in the kitchen, and when he left the infirmary he begged for pardon in chapter, because he had not been able to keep the rule as he ought to have done.

According to the founder's wish, works of mercy were shewn daily to the poor and needy, to travellers and pilgrims. The great guest-house for those who came on horseback was 135 feet long and 30 feet wide; in it there was a lodging for men with forty beds, and a lodging with thirty beds for countesses and honourable women, and a common refectory.[1] The monk who was keeper of the hostel had several servants including a cook, a porter and a groom, and when there were many guests, as at the greater festivals, the servants of the abbot, prior and chamberlain, and the tailors too came to help at the hostel. Bishops, abbots, monks and priests dined with the monks, but the keeper provided for the lay folks in the refectory of the hostel, and fetched what he needed from the cellarer's storehouse. When there were many guests, the wine was not measured out to him, but he went to the cask and drew as much as he wanted. If the keeper of the wine saw him taking more than was necessary, he first warned him, and afterwards complained to the prior.

If the guests wanted to see over the monastery the

[1] *Consuetudines Monasticae*, ed. Albers, i 138.

hosteller sought permission from the prior to take them while the monks were at Mass. They had to remove their spurs and greaves, and were then shewn the cloister, almonry, cellarer's storehouse, kitchen, refectory, lodging of the novices, dormitory and infirmary.

When a bishop, a count or countess or some other rich person came, the sacrist provided the keeper of the hostel with two candles to set before them and a ball of wax to burn all night. He also had a ball of wax when six or seven monks slept in the hostel, which often happened when they came from the priories to make their profession at Cluny.

The monastery stables were under the charge of a monk called the *connestabulus* with one groom to look after the horses of the prior and other officers, and another provided by the abbot for his own horses. The stables were 280 feet long and 25 feet wide, and the monastery servants ate and slept in the upper storey.[1] The *connestabulus* had barley and oats, and also a supply of horseshoes in his store, but if he ran short he got money from the chamberlain to buy what he needed. The guests' horses were fed by him. When the guests had begun to eat in the refectory of the hostel, the *connestabulus* came in and said cheerfully and modestly 'Benedicite,' and after the reply 'The Lord be with you' he said 'All that is in our service I offer you, and I will serve you, and with abundance.' To all the guests he gave as many horseshoes as they wanted, but if there was any doubt he looked at the horses' feet himself, especially when he was dealing with the guests' servants. To those who lived near Cluny and passed by the monastery on a journey, he did not refuse one or two horseshoes. None were given to men who came in to Cluny to market, for no one who came to Cluny for markets, fairs or lawsuits was received at the guest-house.

There were other travellers who came on foot to Cluny, and yet they were not the poor, so they did not care to go to the almonry. If they were lodging in the town, and there were twelve or fifteen of them, the hosteller sent them bread, meat and wine; if they were a company of fifty or

[1] *Consuetudines Monasticae*, ed. Albers, i 139.

a hundred, so that it was no light thing to provide them altogether with necessaries, the keeper sent them a present of bread and wine.

All pilgrims who came on foot could get food at the almonry if they chose. For his charity and hospitality the almoner received a tenth of all tithes paid in money to the monastery, and a tenth of all money offered in the church. For every monk who was professed of the congregation of Cluny, wherever he died, the almoner drew a full allowance of food and wine for thirty days, and two extra portions in case for any reason the news of a death did not reach Cluny, and on each anniversary of the death of a monk of Cluny a full allowance. In 1147 when there was a financial crisis, Abbot Peter the Venerable limited the number of anniversary portions for dead monks to fifty a day; there were then three hundred monks at Cluny, and Peter said that as the dead continued to increase they would in course of time expel the living.[1] The almoner also had every day three portions which were first set on the high table in the monks' refectory, in memory of Abbot Odilo (*ob.* 1049), the Emperor Henry I and Ferdinand, King of Spain, his wife, and the other kings of Spain, and half what was left by the monks in the refectory of the beans and the second course of fish, eggs or cheese, and all the vegetables, apples and such-like things. For every pilgrim he received a pound of bread on the first day and half a pound on the second, and half a monk's measure of wine each day. Nuns did not enter the court of the almonry, so he went to the gate to give them each a measure of wine and a pound of bread. The pilgrims ate together at the almonry, but if one of them had left a sick or tired wife at his lodging in the town, the almoner gave him an allowance for her. At the almoner's request poor priests who came on foot from a distant land were invited to dine in the monks' refectory.

Every day the keeper of the granary provided the almoner with twelve tarts or cakes each weighing three pounds, which he distributed among widows and orphans, the lame and the blind, old men and old women, and

[1] *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, v 478, 479.

strangers. Once a week the almoner went all round the town to visit the poor who lay sick, and his servants accompanied him carrying baskets of bread and meat and vessels of wine. When he came to the house of a man who was ill, the women folk went out of it, and he visited him and consoled him as well as he could. He sent his servants in to visit the women who were ill. All the invalids were asked if they were in need of anything which he had not brought, and he then tried to get it and sent it to them by his servants.

There were eighteen poor men called *prebendarii* or pensioners who lived in the almonry; the almoner drew special allowances of food and drink for them, and they also received new clothes and a pair of shoes once a year.

To help him in his duties the almoner had five servants. He sent out two daily with asses to bring fuel from the woods, and four at intervals to cut rushes, for it was his duty to see that the pavement of the church, the cloister and the monastery buildings was swept six times a year, and strewn with fresh rushes. His servants also cleaned the lavatory where the monks washed their hands, and cleared the water course which served as the great drain for sanitation, and made sluices in the summer to keep the water up to the right level.

It was the duty of other officials to find special charities. On Quinquagesima Sunday the chamberlain provided all the poor who chose to come with a meal of as much salt pork as they could eat; each deanery provided one salted hog, amounting perhaps to twelve, but the chamberlain bought the rest, and Ulric of Cluny, writing about 1085, testified that in the year just past 17,000 poor were counted and 250 hogs were divided among them, in the name of Christ.[1] On Maundy Thursday as many poor as there were monks were received in the guest hostel, and fed with two courses, beans and millet; after the monks had washed the feet of these poor in the cloister, they gave them each a drink of wine and two pennies. This particular charity was not indiscriminate, for the dean of Cluny carefully chose out men who were known to live good lives. On the

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* cxlix 753.

Feast of Pentecost, the sacrist provided a good meal of bread, meat and wine for as many poor as there were monks in the monastery and the infirmary. On Monday after the Feast of the Trinity, when the monks made special remembrance of all their dead, twelve poor men were fed with bread, meat, and wine, and all the poor who chose to come and ask for it received bread and wine.

There are two interesting accounts of Cluny written by men who received hospitality during the rule of Abbot Hugh. In 1075 William de Warenne, who came from Normandy to England with William the Conqueror, set out with his wife Gundrada on a pilgrimage to Rome.

'We went to many monasteries,' he wrote, 'in France and Burgundy to offer our prayers, and when we had come to Burgundy, we learnt that we could not safely travel through it on account of the war between the pope and the emperor, so we turned aside to the monastery of Cluny, a great and holy abbey in honour of St. Peter, and there we adored and besought St. Peter.[1] And because we found holiness and religion and so great charity, and we were so honourably received by the good prior, and by all the holy convent who took us into their society and fraternity, we began to have love and devotion for that order and that house above all other houses which we had seen. But the lord Hugh, the holy abbot, was not at home. And because my wife and I had long before and then the more greatly desired, with the advice of the lord Lanfranc, the archbishop, to found a house of religion for our sins and for the safety of our souls, it seemed to us that for no order would we so willingly do this as for that of Cluny. Therefore we sent and requested the lord Hugh and all the holy congregation that they would grant us two, three, or four monks of that holy flock and we would give them the stone church which we had built (it was formerly of wood and dedicated from old time in honour of St. Pancras), and as a beginning as much land, animals, and other things as would support twelve monks. But the holy abbot at first was hard in hearkening to our petition on account of the long distance of that strange land and especially on account of the sea.'

After some delay, in 1077 Abbot Hugh sent three monks with their prior, Lanzo, to St. Pancras at Lewes.

Another guest at Cluny was Peter Damiani, the cardinal-bishop of Ostia, well known as an ascetic monk and a stern

[1] *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, ed. Bernard et Bruel, iv 689–696.

reformer. The occasion of his visit in 1063 was the quarrel between the monastery and the bishop of Mâcon. From the foundation the monastery had enjoyed the privilege of papal protection, and Gregory V (996–999) forbade any bishop to exercise any function within the monastery except by invitation.[1] John XIX (1024–1033) forbade any bishop to put the monastery under an interdict or to excommunicate any of the monks wheresoever they might be. These bulls deprived the bishops of Mâcon of all jurisdiction over Cluny. In 1063 Bishop Drogo came to Cluny with a band of armed knights, and 'trampling the ancient liberty of the place under his proud foot, and holding the privileges of the Holy See to be nothing worth,' he put the parish church of St. Majolus, close to the monastery, under an interdict, and excommunicated many of the monks.[2] Abbot Hugh set out for Rome, and made his complaint to the Pope in council. Peter Damiani, the cardinal-bishop of Ostia, offered his services as papal legate to right the abbot of Cluny. After a most trying journey across the Alps in the great summer heat Peter Damiani and his companions arrived at Cluny and were received with a procession and great devotion. He summoned a synodal council at Chalon-sur-Saône and Drogo, bishop of Mâcon, came like a triumphant warrior, trusting in his learning and eloquence, and in the support of other bishops who were envious of the abbot of Cluny, and realized that if he prevailed over Drogo, none of them would be able to stand up against him. Peter Damiani opened the synod with a powerful sermon and then ordered the series of papal bulls granted to Cluny to be read. Both sides were heard, but the bishops were constrained to decree that the papal privileges of Cluny should be held inviolate. Then Bishop Drogo swore this oath upon the book of the Gospels :

'Hear, O lord Peter, bishop of Ostia, and all the holy synod, on that day when I came in my wrath to Cluny, I acted not in contempt or scorn of the Holy See, or of the lord Alexander, bishop of Rome, nor did I then clearly understand the tenor

[1] *Millénaire de Cluny*, i 255–259 (Académie de Mâcon, 1910); *cf.* G. Letonellier, *L'Abbaye exempte de Cluny et le Saint-Siège* (Les Archives de la France Monastique, vol. xxii), 1923.

[2] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* cxlv 859–862, 862–879.

and sense of the privileges which have now been read in our ears, so help me God and these holy gospels.'

Four priests of the cathedral church of Mâcon swore the same oath. The bishop prostrated himself on the pavement, confessed that he had sinned, and asked for pardon, and received a penance of fasting for seven days on bread and water. So peace was made between him and the abbot.

In letters written to the abbot and to the monks after his return to Rome Peter Damiani praised the strict lives of the monks of Cluny.[1] His companion, probably a monk named John, was enraptured during the stay of eight days in the monastery.[2] He noted the monks' strict observance of the rule of silence, their cheap clothing and bedding, wholly in accordance in his judgement with the Rule of St. Benedict. No matter how long the day, there was no interval, he said, in the round of services in the church : in fact, the monks were so worn out that when the time came for speaking in the cloister, they made much use of signs. Whether or no this was the reason, there was a most elaborate language of signs in use at Cluny.[3] The monk praised their care of the sick, their alms to the poor, their hospitality to all. He marvelled at the aisled church with its many altars, the relics of the saints and the costly treasures ; the immense and beautiful cloister which seemed to invite monks to dwell there, the dormitory with three lights always burning, the refectory with its paintings, and the other stone buildings ranged around the cloister, the bounteous water supply.

The lands of the monks were sometimes raided by the lords of Branzion, Berzé and Bussières.[4] Bernard wrote in the Customs :

' If a robber is wasting the lands and property of the Church and the monks want to make their complaints to the people, they summon all the people to the great church on Sunday, and then morning Mass is sung at the Crucifix. After the gospel the priest says the Nicene Creed and one of the monks goes up into the pulpit and speaking for a short time concerning the

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* cxliv 374–378.
[2] *Ibid.* cxlv 873–874.
[3] Herrgott, *Vetus Disciplina Monastica*, pp. 169–173.
[4] *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, xix 254 (1891).

divine precepts, he then makes known to them the tribulation, suggesting that they should offer alms and ask God to make the evil-doer to be at peace with them and turn evil to good. He adds also some humble words of persuasion saying " You know that if our substance is taken from us, we cannot live ; pray to God, therefore, brothers, and we will cry out to Him." While the choir said a response, all the bells were rung slowly, and then the monks said three special psalms for use in time of trouble.'

The monks had lands and vineyards at Berzé which were quite at the mercy of the lord of the strong castle which dominated the road between Mâcon and Cluny. Walter de Berzé ferociously laid waste their lands and did much damage and destruction. After warnings and remonstrances he at last made an end of his evil deeds.[1] In 1050 he came to Cluny and in the chapter-house he renounced all his claims on the lands and serfs which the monastery held at Berzé, and had possessed in peace in the time of his father He swore fealty to St. Peter on the holy relics in the presence of his two little sons, and he commended them to Abbot Hugh with the understanding that when they came to years of discretion, they should swear the same oath of fealty. At this reconciliation the monks gave Walter de Berzé three hundred shillings.

The earlier church, afterwards called St. Pierre le Vieux, which filled Peter Damiani's companion with wonder, became too small as both monks and pilgrims increased in numbers. In 1089 the foundation-stone was laid of the largest church in the world before the building of St. Peter's at Rome. It was north of the older church which divided it from the cloister.[2] In six years the choir was so far advanced that it was dedicated by Urban II, when he stayed at Cluny on his way to hold the council of Clermont, at which he preached the first crusade. The nave was longer in building, for part of it collapsed in 1125, and the church was finally dedicated by Innocent II in 1132. It had double aisles, double transepts and an ambulatory with radiating chapels, and a nave of sixteen bays. There were

[1] *Recueil des Chartes*, iv 417–418.

[2] *Millénaire de Cluny*, ' Un ancien plan de l'abbaye de Cluny,' ii 239 ; *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, xix 246–332 (L'église abbatiale de Cluny) ; Jean Virey, *L'Abbaye de Cluny* (Petites Monographies des Grands Edifices de la France), 1921.

destroyed, there is still much to interest the traveller in the fragment of the great church and the Chapelle de Bourbon, in the charming lodgings of the abbots, the one of Jean de Bourbon (1457–1485) now the Musée Ochier containing twelve of the magnificent capitals from the choir of the abbey church,[1] the other of Jacques d'Amboise (1485–1510) now the Hôtel de Ville, the eighteenth-century buildings of the monastery, the walls and towers of various dates, the two fine parish churches, and stone houses of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

[1] J. Virey, *L'Abbaye de Cluny*, pp. 76–82 (1921); Pouzet, 'Notes sur les chapiteaux de l'abbaye de Cluny,' *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 1912.

III

THE PAPAL SCHISM OF 1378 AND THE ENGLISH PROVINCE OF THE ORDER OF CLUNY

Owing to the wars between France and England in the fourteenth century, the relations between Cluny and the English province were often interrupted, but they were not broken off completely until after the schism when France recognized the pope at Avignon, and England the pope at Rome.

The English province consisted of thirty-eight priories in England and Wales, which were founded between 1077 and 1222.[1] Two of the principal daughter-houses of Cluny, La Charité on the Loire near Nevers, and St. Martin-des-Champs in Paris, took part with Cluny in the foundation of the first twelve English houses, that is to say at the request of the patrons and founders they sent a prior and a few monks to take possession. The abbot of Cluny had the same authority over all the monks in the Order as over those at Cluny, and he could transfer any monk from one house to another.[2] He alone was able to receive the professions of monks, who were bound to cross the seas and take the long journey south to Cluny, unless the abbot came to England or summoned them to meet him at one of his priories in Picardy. All the English Cluniac monasteries were priories, and the priors were nominated by the heads of the mother-house from which the first monks had been sent. The abbot of Cluny had the right of nomination to Lewes, Thetford, Lenton, and Montacute, though at Lewes and Thetford the descendants of the founders

[1] L. Guilloreau, 'Les Prieurés Anglais de l'Ordre de Cluny,' *Congrès du Millénaire de Cluny*, i 291–373 (Académie de Mâcon, 1910), and *Revue Mabillon*, viii 1–42, 159–188; U. Berlière, 'Les Monastères de l'Ordre de Cluny du XIII^e^ au XV^e^ Siècle,' *Revue Bénédictine*, x 99–107.

[2] J. M. Besse, 'L'Ordre de Cluny et son Gouvernement,' *Revue Mabillon*, i 1–40.

asserted a right to be consulted as patrons; the prior of La Charité nominated to Bermondsey, Northampton, Wenlock, and Pontefract; the prior of St. Martin-des-Champs to Barnstaple, St. James at Exeter, and St. Clears in Carmarthenshire; the priors of Lewes and Bermondsey to their own dependent priories. All the houses of the Order of Cluny were exempt from the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops, and directly subject to the pope through Cluny.[1]

The earliest surviving records of the general chapters of Cluny, those of 1259 and 1260, prove that the Order was divided into ten provinces, of which England was one.[2] Two visitors were appointed for each province to make a visitation and present a report at the next general chapter, which was always held at Cluny on the third Sunday after Easter. Throughout the thirteenth century all the priors of the English houses, whether they were immediately dependent on Cluny, or mediately through La Charité, St. Martin-des-Champs, or Lewes, were bound to go to Cluny to the general chapter once in two years. After 1301 attendance was required only from the priors of Lewes, Montacute, Lenton, and Thetford, who were immediately dependent,[3] but the priors of Bermondsey, Northampton, Wenlock, and Pontefract were still bound to attend general chapters at La Charité, and the prior of Barnstaple was summoned to St. Martin-des-Champs. On the death of a prior, the head of the mother-house was entitled to receive as 'spolia' his palfrey, cope, and breviary; it was recognized as of old custom in the bull of Nicholas IV of 1289,[4] and also in the acts of a general chapter held in England in 1392 during the schism.[5] The new prior took an oath not to alienate any property without the consent of the mother-house.[6] A yearly payment

[1] G. Letonellier, *L'Abbaye exempte de Cluny et le Saint-Siège* (Les Archives de la France Monastique, vol. xxii).

[2] A. Bruel, 'Les Chapitres Généraux de l'Ordre de Cluny,' *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xxxiv 542–579; Besse, *ubi supra*, i 97–138; Anger, 'Chapitres Généraux de Cluny,' *Revue Mabillon*, viii 214–252.

[3] *Millénaire de Cluny*, i 344.

[4] Aimoin, *De Gestis Francorum* (ed. 1602), p. 849.

[5] Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C 236, fo. 91.

[6] G. Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluny*, ii 43, 44. *Cf.* Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Courtenay, i, fo. 175.

called the census or apport was due to each mother-house in recognition of subjection. Cluny had a right to a total sum of £16 6*s.* 8*d.* from Lewes, Montacute, Lenton, and Thetford,[1] and smaller sums were due to La Charité and St. Martin-des-Champs.

Before the middle of the thirteenth century the popes gave the abbots of Cluny the power of levying occasional special subsidies;[2] in England the consent of the Crown was necessary, and it was withheld by Edward I and on other occasions during the fourteenth century. In 1346, however, although England and France were at war, Edward III granted the request of Pope Clement VI and sanctioned the abbot of Cluny's subsidy of three-tenths, roughly estimated to yield £2000, and the king ordered the English priors to pay it.[3] When parliament met in September of the same year, the commons petitioned the king to annul the grant of £2000 for 'ever, but they were told that the money was paid for that year.[4] This petition is the origin of Bishop Tanner's statement, repeated by later historians, that in the fourteenth century the abbot of Cluny drew £2000 a year from England,[5] whereas it referred to one special subsidy. During truces and short periods of peace several demands for subsidies reached the English priors, and steps were taken to collect them, but payment was liable to be stopped at any time by the king, and in 1401 the abbot of Cluny believed that considerable sums of money due to him from these subsidies were in the treasury at Lewes or Bermondsey.[6] Whenever England and France were at war, the payment of any apport to foreign mother-houses was forbidden, but the king allowed the prior and monks of many of the Cluniac alien priories

[1] Duckett, i 184.

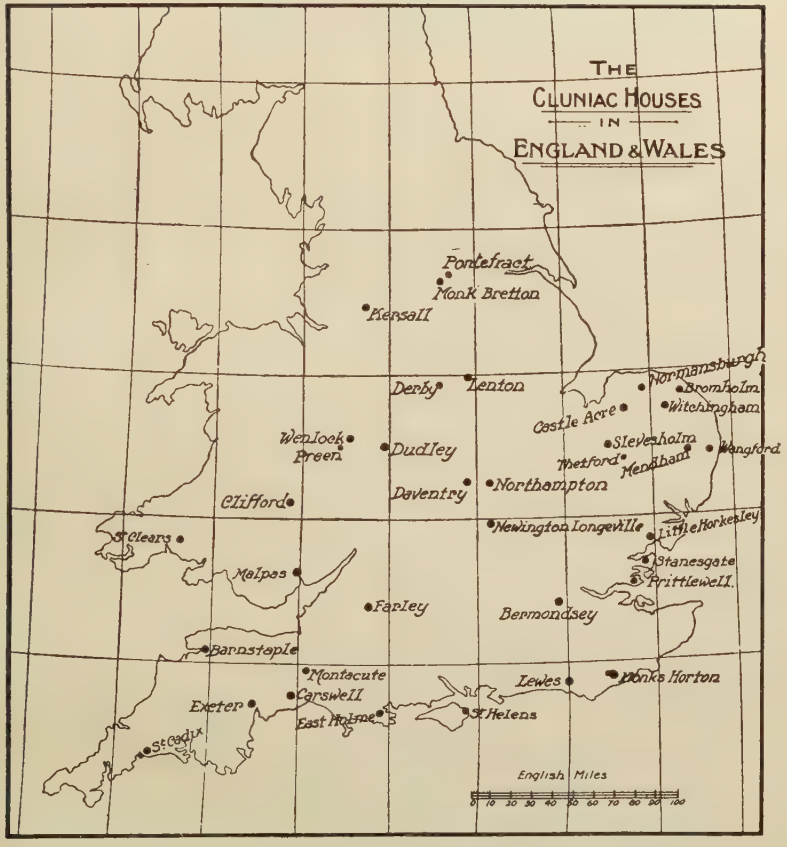
[2] *Millénaire de Cluny*, i 341, 358.

[3] *Calendar of Papal Letters*, iii 19; *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1345–48, p. 63; *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1346–49, p. 28.

[4] *Rotuli Parliament.* ii 163. In the original roll the two last words (printed 'pi cea') are almost illegible, and possibly read 'pur cean.'

[5] Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, p. 14, note p, ed. 1744; the commons distinguished between the yearly apport and this 'empension'; cf. *Rotuli Parliament.* ii 162, 163; but the editors have given support to Tanner's statement by inserting 'yearly' without warrant in the index. *Cf.* Wylie, *Henry IV*, iii 144, note 8.

[6] *Newington Longeville Charters*, ed. H. E. Salter, p. 98 (Oxfordshire Records Soc.); Duckett, i 184, 188, 189; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv 144.



SKETCH MAP SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION
OF THE CLUNIAC HOUSES IN ENGLAND

to keep the custody of their houses in exchange for a very heavy annual payment to the exchequer—500 marks from Lewes, £120 from Montacute, £100 from Bermondsey and Wenlock.[1] The payment of these enormously heavy taxes as aliens was a crushing burden, and in 1351 Lewes priory purchased a charter of denization which relieved the monks of their disabilities as aliens and gave them the privileges of Englishmen.[2]

Edward III allowed the mother-houses to nominate men of foreign birth as priors of Cluniac houses; he employed John of Jancourt, prior of Lewes, in his diplomatic service,[3] and in 1342 he accepted Francis of Bruges as prior of Northampton on the ground that the Flemings were his allies.[4] However, petitions in parliament show the growth of a bitter national feeling, and in 1376 the commons asked that foreign superiors should appoint vicars-general in England, so that Englishmen should become priors, and that monks in Cluniac houses should be Englishmen and all French monks banished.[5] The petition was marked as nothing done, but it had some influence, and from 1376 onwards the new priors of the most important houses were Englishmen.

The schism in the papacy began after the death of Gregory XI, and from 1378 until 1409 France adhered to the popes at Avignon, England to the popes at Rome. The popes at Rome, Urban VI and Boniface IX, severed the relations between the Cluniacs in England and their mother-houses in France. The bulls were not entered in the existing Papal Registers, and only references to them are found either on the Patent Rolls or in the Registers of the Archbishops of Canterbury. The bull of Boniface IX was probably in the custody of the archbishop's registrar, for in an entry in Arundel's register, dated January 8, 1400, it is stated that either the bull or a true copy would be shewn to genuine inquirers.[6] A copy had been sent to

[1] *Millénaire de Cluny*, i 357–364, *post* p. 113.
[2] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v 15, No. xii; *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1350–54, p. 47.
[3] *Victoria County Hist., Sussex*, ii 68.
[4] *Ibid., Northampton*, ii 109. [5] *Rotuli Parliament.* ii 342–343.
[6] Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Arundel, fo. 399.

Bishop Stafford of Exeter, it was entered in his register in 1398, and has not been printed.[1] The bull is of great importance because it also summarizes the bull of Urban VI and chronicles the events between them. Urban VI desired that the Cluniacs in the kingdom of England should not suffer in any way because they held aloof from the abbot of Cluny, who was an adherent of the antipope. He sent a mandate to the priors of Thetford and Bermondsey to summon all priors and monks who were accustomed to go to the general chapter at Cluny to attend a general chapter at a suitable place in England and elect two persons of the order who should exercise all the powers of the abbot of Cluny and the general chapter during the schism. The priors and monks came to a general chapter, which was most probably held at Bermondsey, because the priory was near London Bridge on the Surrey side of the Thames. The priors of Lewes, Montacute, and Lenton protested that some of the priors ought not to be admitted to the general chapter because their priories were immediately dependent on La Charité and did not attend the general chapter at Cluny. The general chapter in their view would have consisted of themselves and the prior of Thetford, and it is significant that the three were Frenchmen who had ruled their houses for twenty years or longer, whereas the priors of Thetford and Bermondsey were Englishmen born and bred. Lewes, too, had always been regarded as the premier house in England. The three French priors refused to take any part in the election, and when the other priors and monks elected the priors of Thetford and Bermondsey, they refused to obey them and appealed to the pope. The appeal failed, for Urban VI's intention was to provide for the government of the order during the schism, and on July 5, 1389, he granted to the archbishop of Canterbury and the priors of Thetford and Bermondsey rights of jurisdiction, visitation, and all other powers usually exercised by the abbot of Cluny, the prior of La Charité, and the general chapter. He conferred on the prior of

[1] Episcopal Registers of Exeter, Stafford, ii, fo. 39. I am indebted to Miss R. Easterling for a transcript of thisbull. In his edition of Stafford's register, i 144, Prebendary Hingeston Randolph stated that the bull was 'quoted at length.'

Bermondsey the power to receive the professions of monks who entered the Order during the schism. Urban VI died on October 15, before the bull was properly executed and on November 12 his successor, Boniface IX, issued a new bull to give effect to that of Urban VI, and he added a clause that the archbishop and the two priors could act together, or the archbishop with either of them.

The archbishop was one of the conservators of the privileges of the Cluniac Order in England under the bull of Clement VI,[1] but apparently he was chosen in his capacity as papal legate.[2] It was remarkable that a province of the Order of Cluny which had been exempt always from episcopal jurisdiction should be for some years under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury. It is evidence of the personal qualities of Archbishops Courtenay and Arundel that they administered the Cluniac province in harmony with the priors. Courtenay was a great friend of Prior Richard Downton and the monks of Bermondsey, and in 1391 he gave them £100 to keep the anniversaries of himself, his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, of William Montacute, earl of Salisbury, and of Prior Richard for ever.[3] Arundel was known to cherish a great devotion to the Cluniac Order, because his ancestors were the founders of Lewes.[4] On November 26, 1390, King Richard II gave his sanction to the bull with the advice and consent of his council, saving the rights of the Crown and of other patrons.[5] The much-beloved English prior of Bermondsey, Richard Downton, had probably withheld his resignation until then,[6] and a week later the archbishop and the prior of Thetford nominated John Attleborough as his successor.[7] Between 1390 and 1404 the archbishop, either acting with the heads of Bermondsey or Thetford, or with both of them, nomi-

[1] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii 136, v 547; Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Courtenay, i, fos. 8 and 13.
[2] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1388–92, p. 332.
[3] Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Courtenay, i, fo. 182.
[4] Duckett, vol. ii, Addenda et Corrigenda to vol. i.
[5] Rymer, *Foedera* (ed. 1709), vii 686; *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1388–92, p. 333.
[6] *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series), iii 481.
[7] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1388–92, p. 332.

nated new priors at Bermondsey,[1] Northampton,[2] Wenlock,[3] Barnstaple,[4] St. James at Exeter,[5] St. Clears in Carmarthenshire,[6] Montacute,[7] and Pontefract.[8] Entries of these appointments are found either on the Patent Rolls (because the king gave his consent to the restoration of temporalities) or in the registers of Canterbury and Exeter. In episcopal registers entries are made or omitted according to the judgement or industry of the individual clerk who wrote up the register. It is stated sometimes that entries were made for the first time as precedents and omitted afterwards, but in the Canterbury registers these Cluniac entries are not found in Courtenay's register, but in that of his successor Arundel.

Under the authority of the archbishop, who is described once in a document in the registers of Pope Boniface IX as vicar or visitor general of the Order,[9] the priors of Thetford and Bermondsey continued to summon the priors of other houses to attend general chapters. The definitions or acts of two general chapters which were held at Bermondsey in 1392 and 1395 were entered in a manuscript of Lewes priory which is now in the Bodleian Library.[10] These acts follow immediately after the bull of Nicholas IV concerning the government of the Order and the procedure at general chapters.[11] Their heading is 'Definitions of the General Chapter of the Order of Cluny held at Bermondsey,' and the exact procedure of Cluny was followed. The English priors met on the day of the general chapter at Cluny, the

[1] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1388–92, p. 332, and Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Arundel, i, fo. 399.

[2] Rot. Pat 15 Ric. II, pt. 1, m. 10.

[3] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1396–99, p. 61.

[4] *Episcopal Registers of Exeter*, ed. Hingeston Randolph, *Brantingham*, i 120; *Stafford*, i 144.

[5] *Ibid. Stafford*, i 170.

[6] Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Arundel, i. fo. 286v.

[7] *Ibid.* fo. 292v. [8] *Ibid.* fo. 296v.

[9] 'A venerabili fratre nostro Wilhelmo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi vicario seu visitatore generali monasteriorum prioratuum et locorum quorumlibet dicti Cluniacensis Ordinis in regno Anglie per sedem apostolicam ut iidem priores pretendebant deputato'; cf. *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv 454. I am indebted to the kindness of Cardinal Gasquet for a transcript of this document.

[10] Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C. 236, fo. 90–2v. I am very much indebted to the Rev. H. E. Salter for giving me the reference to this manuscript.

[11] Aimoin, *op. cit.* pp. 841–844.

third Sunday after Easter. In 1392 the presidents were the archbishop of Canterbury and the priors of Thetford and Bermondsey. The priors of Lenton and Wenlock were chosen as diffinitors or executive officers, and after the discussion of business they drew up the definitions, to which the presidents and other priors gave their consent on the following day. It is most improbable that Archbishop Courtenay was actually present at this general chapter on May 5, for he was staying at his Sussex manor of Slindon, near Chichester, on April 29, and he was there also on May 16,[1] and so far as I have been able to discover, no extant document was issued in his name between those dates. Nevertheless his influence is shewn in the definition that no monk might have the cure of souls of any parish church, or receive oblations or visit the sick without special leave from his prior, and parish churches must be served by suitable priests of good reputation and honest life. The question of the choice of suitable priests to serve parish churches is peculiar to these acts, and it is significant that the English Cluniacs held the advowsons of many parish churches, and Lewes had the right of presentation to over forty churches in Sussex.[2]

Some other definitions of this general chapter are also interesting. All conventual priories must provide honourably for one monk at either Oxford or Cambridge, and he must enter the university before next St. Luke's Day, October 18. This was one of the statutes of Pope Benedict XII issued in 1337 for the reform of the Black monks, both Benedictines and Cluniacs.[3] On the death of a prior whose house was subject to Cluny, La Charité, or St. Martin-des-Champs, his palfrey, breviary, cope, and the ornaments of his private chapel were to be divided equally between the priors of Thetford and Bermondsey in payment for their trouble and expenses. No prior was to be deprived, or promoted to another house, without the consent of all three presidents. A proctor was to be appointed by the presidents and the diffinitors of this chapter to represent

[1] Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Courtenay, ii, fos. 204, 204^{v}.
[2] *Victoria County Hist., Sussex*, ii, map facing p. 8.
[3] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 594–599; cf. *Bullarium Romanum*, i 218.

the English houses at the papal curia, and to secure a renewal of their privileges. To meet the expenses of this proctor and also of counsel's advice in England, it was decided to levy a tax of one-fiftieth, to be paid in four instalments within the next two years. The money was to be kept at Bermondsey in a chest with three different locks, and the keys were held by the prior of Lewes, the subprior of Bermondsey, and brother Thomas of Aylsham. The priors of Bermondsey and Derby were appointed visitors-general of the Order as sub-delegates of the archbishop of Canterbury, with power to coerce and imprison monks and remove them to another house with the consent of their priors. They received instructions to publish the acts of the general chapter and to see that a copy was left at each house. It was decided to hold the next general chapter at Bermondsey on the third Sunday after Easter in 1394, but it appears to have been postponed until 1395. The prior of Lenton was again one of the diffinitors, and he had as his colleague the prior of Horton acting as proctor for the old French prior of Lewes, John of Charlieu. The definitions were of less interest, and some of the definitions of the previous chapter were repeated, which suggests that they had not been observed in every house; among them was the provision that one monk should be sent to Oxford or Cambridge from each conventual priory. The priors of Derby and Dudley were appointed visitors, and it was decided to hold the next general chapter at Northampton in 1397.

The acts of no later chapters were entered in the Lewes manuscript, and I have not as yet found them entered in the manuscripts of other Cluniac priories. The activities of the presidents and visitors can only be gleaned from a few entries in the papal registers. These indicate that John Attleborough, the prior of Bermondsey, was arbitrary and violent in his exercise of authority as president of the general chapter and as visitor. There was a serious brawl at Northampton priory in 1392, when the priors of Bermondsey and Derby were refused admission by the subprior and monks on the ground that the customary twenty days' notice of a visitation had not been given.[1] The prior of

[1] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv 454, 455.

Northampton was on the side of the visitors and brought armed men who forced an entrance, the subprior and monks were excommunicated and driven out of the house, and wandered about miserably begging their bread. They appealed to the pope, and he ordered the bishop of Lincoln to try their case.

Individual monks appealed to the pope against being moved to other houses, not as a punishment but in accordance with the special power of the abbot of Cluny to transfer monks from one house to another, which was now exercised by the presidents of the general chapter in England. John Abirford, a monk of Pontefract, appealed to the pope against the order of Archbishop Arundel and the prior of Bermondsey, transferring him to Bermondsey; no fault was alleged against him, and he had always lived an honourable life at Pontefract; in 1398, when Archbishop Arundel was in exile, the pope sent a mandate to the archbishop of York to replace John Abirford at Pontefract.[1] In 1402 Robert Willingham received an indulgence to remain at Thetford priory for life in answer to his plea that divine offices were solemnly and devoutly performed there by day and night, and there were divers books which he desired to study, and he was afraid of being transferred by the prior of Thetford or some other superior.[2] Another monk had permission to leave Thetford for any Benedictine monastery of his choice,[3] and a monk of Castleacre had an indulgence to live in any Cluniac house which might suit his health.[4] A number of monks secured the privileges of papal chaplains and claimed to be free from the duty of obedience to their superiors.[5]

The overweening ambition of John Attleborough, prior of Bermondsey, brought the monastery into serious financial straits and led to his downfall. In 1397, in consideration of the great quantity of money which he alleged that he had spent against schismatics, Boniface IX granted him a dispensation to hold a benefice with cure of souls for life with his priory.[6] In the Annals of the monastery there is

[1] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v 162.
[2] *Ibid.* v 546.
[3] *Ibid.* v 196.
[4] *Ibid.* v 190.
[5] *Ibid.* iv 286; *cf.* Duckett, ii 24.
[6] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v 77.

an entry that John Attleborough, prior of Bermondsey, became the first abbot on August 13, 1399, by the creation of Boniface IX, with the assent and will and by the petition of Richard II.[1] The registers of petitions to Boniface IX are missing,[2] and this bull is not entered in his registers, though reference was made to it afterwards.[3] It was not entered in any extant manuscript of Bermondsey. The date in the Annals is probably that of the bull; and Attleborough is described officially as abbot on October 30, 1399.[4] The proceedings concerning the election of abbots of Bermondsey which are entered in the registers of Archbishops Arundel and Chicheley prove that by this bull the monks of Bermondsey obtained the right of electing their abbot after applying to the king as patron for the usual *congé d'élire*.[5] When they had elected their abbot, they notified the king, who gave his assent and directed the archbishop of Canterbury to scrutinize the proceedings and confirm the election if all was in order. In each case the archbishop is described as 'judex unicus ad confirmandam eleccionem . . . auctoritate apostolica nobis in hac parte commissa.' Thus the prior of La Charité lost his right to nominate or confirm the head of Bermondsey, not only during the schism but for ever. Most privileges were for sale at the papal curia under Boniface IX, and it is certain that Attleborough paid a heavy price for this bull. Four months afterwards, on January 8, 1400, Archbishop Arundel and the prior of Thetford appointed three commissioners to inquire into charges made by trustworthy persons against John Attleborough, who claimed to be abbot of Bermondsey, who was an incapable administrator, and had wasted the revenues of the monastery and alienated its possessions in prosecuting causes which were against the law; if the commissioners found that witnesses could prove these charges, they were to remove him from office, and provide for a new head in accordance with the papal privilege granted to the monastery.[6] On January 20, in the chapter-

[1] *Annales Monastici*, iii 483.
[2] *Cal. of Papal Petitions*, i, p. xi.
[3] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v 506, 603; cf. *post*, p. 115, 116, note 1.
[4] Episcopal Registers of Exeter, Stafford, ii, fo. 43.
[5] Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Arundel, i, fo. 399^{v}; Chicheley, i, fo. 49^{v}.
[6] *Ibid.* Arundel, fo. 399.

house at Bermondsey, the abbot read his resignation, which had been drawn up for him by a papal notary; he renounced all right to his office and recognized the power of the archbishop of Canterbury and the prior of Thetford to receive his resignation.[1] He was promised a pension of £40 a year for food and clothing on condition that he did not appeal to the pope.[2] A few months later Henry IV issued a warrant for his arrest,[3] but he reached Rome and urged in his petition that the resignation which he had made in fear of death was of no effect, because the monastery, according to the bull of Boniface IX, was immediately subject to the apostolic see, and therefore the archbishop had no power to admit his resignation.[4] He was consoled at Rome by being promoted to the Irish bishopric of Ardfert.[5] Owing to his misgovernment, Bermondsey was in such financial straits that on May 1, 1400, Henry IV issued a commission to his clerk, Nicholas Bubwith, and three other persons to have the custody of the monastery during his pleasure, so as to protect it from creditors.[6]

The result of the meeting of priors and representative monks in the general chapters was that more houses petitioned the Crown for denization charters. In 1390 only Lewes,[7] Thetford,[8] and Bermondsey[9] had freed themselves from the difficulties and burdens of alien houses. The petitions were not identical, but there was a fairly general plea that the monks were true Englishmen born and bred, and their monastery was in danger of ruin and destruction through the misgovernment of foreign priors in the past; it was a popular appeal and veiled the truth that they had no money to keep their buildings in repair or to restock their manors, because the Crown took such enormous sums in taxation from them as aliens. To get

[1] Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Arundel, fo. 399.
[2] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v 349.
[3] Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. vii, m. 11d.
[4] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v 349.
[5] *Ibid.* vi 7; *Annales Monastici*, iii 483.
[6] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1399–1401, p. 284.
[7] Dugdale, v 15, No. xii.
[8] Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, Appendix, tertia pars, p. 208; Rot. Pat. 50 Ed. III, pt. 1, m. 5, confirmed Rot. Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt 2, m. 12.
[9] Reyner, Appendix, tertia pars, p. 145.

the consent of the Crown the essentials were a powerful patron, an English prior, and a large sum of ready money to pay for the privilege. Lenton [1] paid a fine of 500 marks in 1392, Pontefract [2] and Wenlock [3] 100 marks and 600 marks in 1393, Barnstaple [4] 160 marks in 1403, Northampton [5] £100 in 1405. Montacute had to wait for the death of its old French prior in 1404 and paid 300 marks in 1407.[6] In 1399 Henry IV restored many alien houses to their French superiors on condition that they presented suitable persons as priors,[7] and the abbot of Cluny determined to open negotiations for the recovery of his rights in England. A series of most interesting letters, drafts, and memoranda about the English province were among the archives of Cluny until the French Revolution ; they are now in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale and were printed privately by the late Sir George Duckett.[8] Some of them are drafts without dates, and in the light of other evidence it is possible to date them with more accuracy and to correct a few errors of identification.

In July 1401 the abbot of Cluny sent the priors of Crespy and Dompierre on a mission to England. Their instructions were to recover possession of four manors belonging to Cluny or to arrange for a new lease or sale, and to collect considerable arrears of money representing (1) the yearly apport from the four houses directly dependent on Cluny, *i.e.* Lewes, Thetford, Lenton, and Montacute, (2) the 'spolia' due from Lenton on the death of the last prior, (3) large sums of money from several subsidies levied since 1346 ; only instalments had been paid, and the rest was believed to be either in the treasury at Lewes or at Bermondsey.[9] The French priors brought a letter to Henry IV begging him to restore the patronage of the priories and to allow them to go on a visitation.[10]

[1] Rot. Pat., 16 Ric. II, pt. 2, m. 19.
[2] *Ibid.* m. 8.
[3] Dugdale, v 78 ; *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1391–96, p. 552.
[4] Rot. Pat. 4 Hen. IV, pt. 2, m. 12.
[5] Rot. Pat. 6 Hen. IV, pt. 2, m. 25.
[6] Rot. Pat. 8 Hen. IV, pt. 2, m. 10.
[7] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1399–1401, p. 80.
[8] *Charters and Records of Cluny*, 2 vols., 1888.
[9] *Ibid.* i 181–186 ; *cf. ante* p. 48, note 6.
[10] *Duckett op. cit.* i 190–192.

They were instructed to get the same terms from the king as the abbot of St. Denis had already secured, or even better ones. They would find the new prior of Lewes friendly, and the sacrist of Bermondsey was trustworthy and loved Cluny, but they must beware of his master, who was very hostile and was exercising the powers of an abbot *de facto*. The priors were at Lewes on August 5 and gave the prior, John Oke, authority to negotiate about the four manors of Cluny,[1] but their mission was a failure, for the English priors refused to pay a penny on the ground that the abbot and monks of Cluny were schismatics.[2]

In 1407 a more favourable opportunity occurred. Four envoys were nominated by the king of France to negotiate a peace with England, and the lord of La Fay and Gerard du Puy, bishop of St. Flour, were the abbot of Cluny's intimate friends.[3] The bishop offered to take a monk from Cluny in his train, and the abbot sent Theobald, who held the office of archdeacon in the jurisdiction of Cluny. His instructions were very similar to those given to the prior of Crespy in 1401.[4] He was warned that the English priors would prejudice the king and his people against him and put every obstacle in his way to avoid paying a penny to Cluny. 'If you can recover any money,' wrote the abbot of Cluny, 'buy me a palfrey. My predecessor had two English palfreys, and we still have one, and he is the best horse we have ever had. Get one as good or better, if you can, for the best horses come from England.' The French envoys were in England in the autumn of 1407,[5] and the archdeacon of Cluny made a very favourable impression on Henry IV and the prior of the cathedral monastery of Canterbury.

Eighteen months later Prior Chillenden of Canterbury met the prior of the Cluniac monastery of Sauxillanges in Auvergne at the Council of Pisa which had been summoned to end the schism, and told him that he had been very much pleased with the archdeacon of Cluny, a good man, who celebrated Mass with joy and devotion, but he thought

[1] *Duckett, op. cit.*, i 193, 194.
[2] *Ibid.* i 189.
[3] *Ibid.* i 189; Wylie, *England under Henry* IV, iii 95.
[4] Duckett, i 187–190.
[5] Wylie, iii 95.

ill of the monks of St. Flour, who came with the bishop. Robert de Chaudesolles, prior of Sauxillanges, was the representative of the abbot of Cluny at the Council of Pisa, and he reported his conversation with the prior of Canterbury in a most interesting letter.[1] He told the abbot that Prior Chillenden was a man of high character and great experience and learning, and as rich as a bishop of an important see. In company with other English envoys,[2] the bishop of Salisbury and the abbots of York and Jervaulx, the prior of Canterbury had visited many Cluniac priories on the journey through France to Pisa, and in their opinion the French Cluniacs compared very unfavourably with their English brethren. It is clear that they had followed the great road due south from Paris, for they made particular complaints about the monks of La Charité and Nevers. They said that the French monks had neither Latin nor learning, they saw them in the market-places of the towns without their habits, or in habits which were torn and shabby, they had no woollen shirts, were very untidy, and looked more like peasants than monks, and they had not suitable vestments for use in their churches. The prior of Canterbury said that Henry IV had such reverence for Cluny that when he was confiscating alien priories or releasing them from allegiance to their foreign heads, he superseded his instructions when he was told that any of those priories were of the Order of Cluny. Chillenden was afraid that if the envoys returned to England with such unfavourable reports of the French Cluniacs, the king would not fulfil the promises which he had made to the archdeacon of Cluny, and would put the English priories under another head.

The English envoys failed to understand that wars had been fought for many years on French soil. Moreover, La Charité and Nevers had suffered very severely from the ravages of the free companies after the treaty of Brétigny, and as late as 1418 La Charité had not recovered.[3] The prior of Sauxillanges made excuses to the envoys

[1] E. Martène et U. Durand, *Veterum Scriptorum Amplissima Collectio* (ed. 1733), vii 1113–19.

[2] Wylie, iii 368, 376.

[3] Denifle, *La Désolation des églises et monastères en France*, i 40, ii 429.

and invited them to Cluny on the way home, but the prior of Canterbury left Pisa in haste with a letter for Henry IV, dated June 26, announcing the election of Pope Alexander V.[1] The fragment of another letter, printed by Sir George Duckett, without identification, was written at Pisa to the abbot of Cluny by a monk of Canterbury on behalf of Prior Chillenden.[2] He said that the prior would do his utmost to help Cluny, and as the schism was at an end, he advised him to write to Henry IV and to his chancellor, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury. He told him how to address them, and suggested that letters should be sent to the prior through two merchants of Lucca, who were constantly in Paris, and he would return them in the same way as he had arranged the dispatch of the archdeacon of Cluny's letters when he was in England with the bishop of St. Flour. The abbot of Cluny lost no time. On September 12, 1409, Charles VI, king of France, gave him permission to send monks to England,[3] and they brought letters to Henry IV[4] and the archbishop of Canterbury.[5] The abbot begged the archbishop to intercede with the king for the recovery of the rights of which Cluny had been deprived on account of the wars and the pestilent schism. As England and France both recognized Alexander V, the provisional government of the English province of the Order of Cluny during the schism came to an end.

[1] Wylie, iii 384.
[2] Duckett, ii, Addenda et Corrigenda to vol. i.
[3] *Ibid.* ii 157.
[4] *Ibid.* i 177–179. Undated by Duckett, and stated wrongly in Wylie, iii 143, note 1, to be addressed to Henry VI.
[5] *Duckett,* i 149, 150. Wrongly dated 20 Ric. II by Duckett.

IV

THE ENGLISH PROVINCE OF THE ORDER OF CLUNY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

When the papal schism came to an end in 1409 it was not possible to revert to the earlier relations between the mother-houses in France and their dependencies in England. National feeling against French superiors had been intensified by the long wars, and some French Benedictine monasteries had sold their English possessions. The abbots of Cluny aimed at recovering all the rights which they had lost during the wars and the schism. The history of the English houses in the fifteenth century is a record of their struggle to shake off the yoke of the French mother-houses; they secured special privileges from the Crown and the papacy, and some became directly subject to the pope.

The road to freedom was already marked out. In 1399 Bermondsey had been created an abbey by Pope Boniface IX at the request of Richard II, and by this bull the monks obtained the right of electing their abbot after applying to the king as patron for the usual *congé d'élire*.[1] When they had elected their abbot they notified the king, who gave his assent, and directed the archbishop of Canterbury to scrutinize the proceedings and confirm the election, if all was in order.[2] The prior of La Charité thus lost his right to nominate or confirm the head of the monastery of Bermondsey, and he did not reassert it until the reign of Edward IV. The abbot of Cluny declined to recognize the new status of Bermondsey.[3]

Thetford had secured a papal bull granting freedom

[1] *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, iii 483 (R.S.).

[2] Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Arundel, i, fo. 399^{v}; Chicheley, i, fo. 49^{v}.

[3] Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluny*, ii 57.

of election before 1376,[1] and the privilege was confirmed during the schism by Pope Boniface IX in 1399.[2] Northampton secured freedom of election in the denization charter by Henry IV in 1405,[3] Montacute by a special charter from Henry V in 1413.[4] The abbot of Cluny conferred the powers of a vicar-general on the prior of Lewes.[5] In 1410 the earl of Arundel, as patron of Lewes, wrote to the abbot of Cluny, asking that the prior might have the power of acting for him and the priors of La Charité and St. Martin-des-Champs, and of nominating the heads of the English houses.[6] A clerk of the prior of Lewes carried the letter to Cluny and received a favourable reply.[7] On his way home he stayed at La Charité, and the prior took away the original document and gave him a copy. The clerk arrived in London, and on January 26, 1411, he delivered letters from the abbot of Cluny and the prior of La Charité to the prior of Lewes and the other English priors, who were assembled, probably, in the chapter-house at Bermondsey. There was great rejoicing over the letters, but when the copy of the document was read, it did not contain the full powers which had been promised, and the priors were very much perturbed. Apparently the prior of La Charité had suppressed a clause in the original document because he disapproved of it. The want of harmony between Cluny and La Charité introduced another source of friction between the English houses immediately dependent on Cluny—Lewes, Thetford, Lenton, and Montacute—and those which were immediately dependent on La Charité, Bermondsey, Northampton, Pontefract, and Wenlock.

The prior of Lewes determined to go to the general chapter at Cluny on May 3, 1411, and he had letters of recommendation from the king and queen,[8] and one from the countess of Arundel, daughter of John, king of Portugal.[9] She announced her intention of adding to the endowments of Lewes priory, because monastic observance

[1] Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, Appendix, tertia pars, p. 208; Rot. Pat. 50 Ed. III, pt. i, m. 5.
[2] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv 196.
[3] Rot. Pat. 6 Hen. IV, pt. 2, m. 25.
[4] Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. V, pt. 2, m. 30.
[5] Duckett, *op. cit.* i 208.
[6] *Ibid.* i 208.
[7] *Ibid.* i 209, 210, 211–214.
[8] *Ibid.* i 200, 208.
[9] *Ibid.* i 208, 209.

was stricter and God was served there with greater devotion than anywhere else in England. She intended to ask the pope to make Lewes an abbey, and she begged the abbot of Cluny to make the present prior abbot of Lewes. Many letters to Cluny appear to have been sent through the prior of St. Martin-des-Champs in Paris, who read and endorsed them. On this one he wrote :

'This letter was drafted by the prior of Lewes himself. I have heard from some one who was present that the countess of Arundel told the prior of Lewes she would write what he wished. If all priors loved the status of a bishop as much as he of Lewes, all priories would be created cathedral churches, and the priors would all be bishops.' [1]

The prior of Lewes was prevented by difficulties at home from going to the general chapter, and sent the prior of Horton as his proctor with a request for the extension of his powers as vicar-general.[2] The abbot granted some of his requests and ratified all professions made in England by papal authority during the schism.[3] He refused to sanction provincial chapters as contrary to the constitutions of Benedict XII and the invariable custom of Cluny,[4] and he declined to make Lewes an abbey on the pretext that the petition came from the countess of Arundel, and not from her husband the earl, who was the patron, and would be seriously displeased.

The letters which passed between Cluny, St. Martin-des-Champs, and Lewes prove that Abbot Raymond de Cadouin was unwilling or unable to realize the changes which were the result of the long wars between France and England. He was an old man, over seventy according to his own testimony in 1416,[5] and he had been prior of Cluny for twenty-three years before he succeeded as abbot in 1400.[6] He insisted that the prior of Lewes should take steps on his behalf to recover four manors which had been granted to Cluny by Henry I and Stephen instead of their

[1] Duckett, i 209.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.* i 202–207, 1411, not 'circa 1410.'
[4] Wilkins, ii 591 ; *Revue Mabillon*, viii 119.
[5] E. Martène et U. Durand, *Veterum Scriptorum Amplissima Collectio* (ed. 1733), vii 1217.
[6] *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. Marrier et Duchesne, p. 1674.

first gifts of £200 a year from the Exchequer.[1] The manors were Letcombe Regis in Berkshire, Offord Cluny in Huntingdonshire, Manton and Tixover in Rutland; and they had been alienated during the French wars. The prior of Lewes advised the abbot to follow the example of other French houses in selling their English lands, and urged him to accept Sir William Porter's offer to buy the four manors.[2] He wrote again to the prior of St. Martin-des-Champs:

'The abbot of Cluny will not be able to recover his manors in England while there are wars between France and England, and there is no prospect of any end to them in our time. . . . There is a widespread report in this country that the king of France with his council has decreed that no Englishman shall receive anything from any possessions in France, and in the last parliament, the king was urged to make a decree about the possessions of Frenchmen here; it would have been done unless the king had insisted on further deliberation, and it will probably happen in the next parliament.'[3]

The prior of St. Martin-des-Champs had suggested the exchange of his two priories of St. James at Exeter and St. Clears, Carmarthenshire, for two French priories belonging to Lewes: 'If you will add Barnstaple, and put your three against our two, we might arrange it, but it will be very difficult.'[4] The exchange was not effected.

On September 1, 1414, Henry V granted the four manors of Cluny to Sir William Porter for the rent of a red rose, and in the deed he referred to the resumption of alien priories and lands at the parliament of Leicester which met on April 30.[5] It had been clearly stated on the Rolls of Parliament that this was a measure of retaliation for the French king's action in confiscating English possessions. Longueville Priory in Normandy, a priory dependent on La Charité, lost its English manors of Newington Longeville in Buckinghamshire and Witchingham in Norfolk. Almost all the Cluniac priories had acquired denization charters releasing them from the disabilities of aliens, with

[1] Duckett, *op. cit.* i 211, 212; J. H. Round, *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, pp. 506–509.
[2] Duckett, *op. cit.* i 229–231.
[3] *Ibid.* i 231.
[4] *Ibid.*, i 237, 238.
[5] *Ibid.* ii 5, 9–15.

the condition that in time of war any apport due to the French mother-houses should be paid to the Crown. Under the act of resumption the apports now passed into the king's hands,[1] and entries on the patent rolls show that they were regularly granted away, at first as rewards for faithful service [2] and afterwards as endowments for colleges. The small priory of St. Helens in the Isle of Wight was not included in the denization charter of Wenlock in Shropshire and remained in the king's hands.[3] St. James at Exeter and St. Clears, Carmarthenshire, were also alien priories ; they were served by a prior and one or two monks, and paid a very high rent which was granted away by the king.[4]

John Burghersh, prior of Lewes, was unfitted to bear the weight of responsibility of vicar-general which had been put upon him by the abbot of Cluny at a very difficult time. He was obviously an incapable administrator, for under his rule Lewes sank heavily into debt, and he got on neither with his own monks nor with other English priors. In writing to the abbot of Cluny and the prior of St. Martin-des-Champs in 1412, he complained bitterly of opposition within the Order in England, and particularly from the priors under the jurisdiction of La Charité.[5] He reported that Bermondsey was very well governed and he had heard a good account of Wenlock, but Pontefract was very badly governed ; he had been urged to visit that priory, but he was detained by other business, and he was unwilling to intervene in the jurisdiction of the prior of La Charité, who would do better to appoint his own vicar-general [6] : ' I do not wish to be his vicar-general, for I long to be relieved of everything and to lead a quiet life.' He hoped to get permission from the king to go on a visitation in the autumn,[7] and as he would then pass through the country from which the best horses came, he would buy one each for the abbot of Cluny and the priors of La Charité

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, iv 22 ; Rymer, *Foedera*, ix 280, 281.
[2] E.g. *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1429–36, p. 45 ; *ibid.* 1436–41, p. 529.
[3] *Ibid.* 1436–41, pp. 189, 304.
[4] *Ibid.* 1436–41, pp. 151, 201 ; 189, 304, 531.
[5] Duckett, *op. cit.* i 225–227, 233, 234. [6] *Ibid.* i 287.
[7] In *The Reign of Henry V*, i 342, 343, by a curious mistranslation Dr. Wylie stated that the visitation took place.

and St. Martin-des-Champs. He besought the abbot of Cluny to release him and give the office of vicar-general to others of prudence and discretion, the abbot of Bermondsey, the priors of Lenton, Wenlock, Northampton, Montacute, or Thetford, whom he mentioned by name.[1] He had to bear the burden of office for another three years, and urgent business continued to be his plea for not executing the abbot of Cluny's commands.[2] In 1414 he collated Thomas Elmham, a professed monk of the Order of Cluny, as prior of Lenton.[3] Thomas Elmham is the only English Cluniac of the fifteenth century who has attracted the attention of historians; he wrote the best account of Henry V's campaign in France in 1415, for as a royal chaplain he sailed with the fleet from Southampton in August, and was present at the siege of Harfleur and at the battle of Agincourt.[4]

The details of his earlier life are unknown. He was a Norfolk man by birth, and certainly possessed the qualities of 'mightiness, energy, and independence,' which he says were attributed to Norfolk men by their admirers in his day.[5] In 1407 he was treasurer of the Benedictine monastery of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and he compiled a volume on the early history of that monastery. He had a passion for making chronological tables,[6] but he was a man of affairs as well as a student, and he exercised a real influence on the fortunes of the English Cluniacs. On June 11, 1414, Henry V ordered the escheators to restore the temporalities of Lenton priory to him.[7]

[1] Duckett, *op. cit.* i 232. [2] *Ibid.* i 257.

[3] Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. V, pt. 1, mm. 14, 19.

[4] J. H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry V*, ii 77–83; C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 44–60.

[5] Thomas of Elmham, *Historia monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, ed. C. Hardwick, pp. xxi, 140 (R.S.).

[6] MS. Cotton Claudius E. IV, fo. 1 (B. Mus.).

[7] Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. V, pt. 1, m. 19. He is there described as a professed monk of the Cluniac Order. It may be conjectured that he was first professed as a Cluniac, and like several other Cluniac monks had received a papal licence to transfer himself to a Benedictine monastery, though his name is not noted in the Calendar of the papal registers. In 1401, when the abbot of Cluny sent the priors of Crespy and Valois on a mission to England, they had instructions to consult Thomas, the sacrist of Bermondsey, a good, trustworthy monk who loved Cluny and was reported to be then at Lenton (*cf.* Duckett, *op. cit.* i 184, 185). There are several instances of Benedictines and Cluniacs returning to their former houses in the later years of the fourteenth century.

In the summer or early autumn of 1414 the Cluniac priors met in London, either at the town house of the prior of Lewes in Southwark, on the south side of St. Olave's Street 'over against' the parish church,[1] or at Bermondsey abbey; they discussed the difficulties of the relations between the English province and the French mother-houses, and they drew up a series of proposals to be submitted to the abbot of Cluny[2]:

(i) That the abbot of Cluny should depute his functions and powers of jurisdiction in all ordinary matters in the kingdom of England to a vicar-general in spiritual and temporal affairs, who would refer cases of unusual difficulty to the abbot or to the general chapter of Cluny.

(ii) That the abbot of Cluny should grant the power to receive the professions of their monks to the priors of all conventual houses, and particularly those immediately dependent on Cluny, *i.e.* Lewes, Thetford, Lenton, and Montacute; and the vicar-general should have the power to receive the professions of monks of all other priories, conventual and non-conventual. This would avoid the intolerable expense of sending all monks to Cluny to be professed, and the difficulties of the long journey, dangerous to both body and soul.

(iii) That when there was a vacancy, by death or resignation, in any house directly dependent on Cluny, La Charité, or St. Martin-des-Champs, the monks should have the right to elect their abbots or priors either from among themselves or from the monks of another Cluniac house; that the monk thus elected should present himself to the vicar-general and take the oath of obedience to the abbot of Cluny; the vicar-general should then give him letters to the patron, who would admit him to the temporalities according to the usual custom. 'And so,' the memorial continued, 'he will return to his house with the fear of God and fulfil the duties of his office.'

(iv) That once in three years the vicar-general should summon all abbots and priors in the kingdom of England, who were directly or indirectly subject to Cluny, to a pro-

[1] J. Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, ii 64.
[2] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 22–24; wrongly dated '*circa* 1415.'

vincial chapter to be held at the most convenient place. They must appear in person or by proctors and choose diffinitors or executive officers with whom they would discuss the government of the Order and make statutes. They also suggested that the monks of each house should be represented by a proctor at this provincial chapter, and the proctors would be able to bring complaints from the monks against the heads of their houses. The acts of these provincial chapters would be sent to the general chapter of Cluny for confirmation.

(v) That the abbot of Cluny should provide a remedy against monks who secured exemptions from the Pope, and either put off their habits, or went about in them to the houses of great men, and wandered through cities and towns, or served parish churches for an annual stipend, and administered the sacraments.

The memorial ended with a request that the abbot of Cluny would send letters patent confirming Thomas Elmham as prior of Lenton; the king had admitted him to the temporalities, and the vicar-general to the spiritualities.

It is extremely probable that the final draft of the document was made by Thomas Elmham. One sentence occurring in the middle of those clear and practical proposals is a piece of fine writing, reminiscent of two remarkably similar sentences in his 'Metrical Life of Henry V' and the 'History of St. Augustine's, Canterbury.'[1]

Elmham had set his heart on going to the Council of Constance, which began its sessions in the autumn of 1414; he expected to meet the abbot of Cluny there and to submit these proposals to him.[2] Henry V refused to spare Elmham, who as a royal chaplain was then immersed in State affairs, and he wrote to the abbot of Cluny from his palace at Westminster on November 24, 1414.[3] This letter was almost certainly drafted by Elmham, passages and phrases were culled from the memorial of the English priors, and some sentences were written in the peculiar style which

[1] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 23, 'ordo pene marcidus, etc.'; cf. *Historia monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, p. xxiii.

[2] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 17, 19.

[3] *Ibid.* ii 15–17.

Elmham sometimes adopted. The king urged the abbot to appoint a strong and capable vicar-general to summon a provincial chapter, to grant freedom of election to the monks, and the right to profess monks to the priories immediately dependent on the mother-house. He heard that Cluny had granted this privilege to Thetford, and he begged it for Lenton, which was of royal patronage, adding that if the abbot refused his request, he would seek a remedy. Thetford had actually secured the privilege by a papal bull,[1] and this was a veiled threat either of an appeal to the Pope, or of a royal charter which would override the authority of Cluny.

The king's letter and the memorial of the English priors were entrusted to John Kilquit, preceptor of the Hospitallers of Clerkenwell and of Thirsk in Yorkshire, and he took them to the Council of Constance.[2] The abbot of Cluny was not there, and when Kilquit was on his way home in 1415 he learnt that he could not get a safe-conduct to travel to Cluny until he reached Bar-sur-Seine or Troyes, and from either town it was a long journey south to Cluny. So on arriving at Châtillon-sur-Seine on April 21, 1415, he entrusted the king's letter and the memorial to a messenger named Gregory of Conflans, and wrote to the abbot of Cluny, reminding him that the prior of Lewes was longing to be relieved of the office of vicar-general and urging him to appoint the prior of Lenton ; he was upright and prudent, a great favourite with the king and well acquainted with the affairs of the English Cluniacs. The bearer of the letter would bring back the abbot of Cluny's answer either to the prior of Lenton or to himself.

The document of the proposals of the English priors was endorsed at Cluny as '*Memorie misse per priores Anglie, qui sunt una magna fatuitas.*'[3] It seems probable that this was the first impression of the old abbot, Raymond de Cadouin, and that the words were scribbled in petulant haste. But the memorial was not thrown aside as great folly from beginning to end. Wiser counsels prevailed and

[1] Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, Appendix, tertia pars, p. 208.

[2] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 16, 20 ; *V.C.H., Yorkshire*, iii 261.

[3] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 24.

speedily. Six or seven weeks after the letter reached Cluny, on June 12, 1415, Henry V gave permission to Thomas Elmham to accept the commission of vicar-general and chamberlain of the province of England and Scotland for two years, with full power to hear and settle all questions, civil, spiritual, and criminal, and to visit all places of the Order whether mediately or immediately subject to Cluny, particularly the abbey of Bermondsey, the expenses of the visitation to be defrayed by the houses visited; and to do everything pertaining to the office of vicar-general which was specified by the abbot of Cluny.[1] The king commanded the sheriffs, chief constables, bailiffs and others to protect Elmham, his monks, servants, horses and gear wherever he might be on a visitation. There is reason to believe that Elmham made his visitation in June and July, for on August 11 he left Southampton with the king for France, and did not return until November.[2] On February 16, 1416, he wrote in haste from the king's palace at Westminster to the abbot of Cluny reminding him that he had received no answer to a letter reporting his visitation. 'In our Order in England,' he wrote, 'I have found many things which need to be cut away, some to be cured by healing medicine, a few to be strengthened and cherished.'[3] Although he was entangled in the king's business, he sent copies of documents about other matters and requested an answer by the bearer with further instructions.

Abbot Raymond de Cadouin died in 1416[4] and was succeeded by Robert de Chaudesolles, who had represented Cluny at the Council of Pisa in 1407; he was then at the Council of Constance and remained there for several months in 1417.[5] He was so far satisfied with Thomas Elmham that he nominated him vicar-general for another term of two years from October 26, 1417. This commission was entered in a register of Cluny, now at the Bibliothèque

[1] Rot. Pat. 3 Hen. V, pt. 1, m. 8.
[2] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. B. Williams, pp. 13, 60 (English Historical Society).
[3] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii. 21, 22.
[4] Between August 10 and September 15: Martène et Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, vii 1217, 1218.
[5] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 198, 199.

Nationale,[1] and has not been printed or quoted. It shows that the memorial of the English priors had been seriously considered, and though all the suggestions were not accepted, very wide powers were granted to the vicar-general. There is one point of considerable importance: Cluny refused deliberately to recognise that Bermondsey was an abbey, and the vicar-general was commissioned to visit 'our priory of Bermondsey which we have heard is gravely in need of reform.' He could also summon provincial chapters, and the attendance of the English priors at the general chapters of either Cluny or La Charité was not required. Even French monks could not travel in safety to their general chapters,[2] and the machinery of the central government in the Cluniac Order had broken down.

At the end of Thomas Elmham's second term of two years, the abbot of Cluny appointed Thomas Nelond, prior of Lewes, as his vicar-general.[3] Lewes had always been regarded as the premier house of the Order in England, and for the next fifty years the priors received the commissions of vicar-general, but the grant was limited as a rule to two years.

Thomas Nelond's predecessor at Lewes was the querulous John Burghersh, who had resigned the office of prior in 1417 for a pension of £20 a year, leaving the house in debt for over £2000, the monastery buildings in a bad state of repair, and the manors depleted of stock.[4] It was a voluntary resignation made under compulsion, as he urged in a later petition to the Pope praying to be made prior again.[5] Nelond restored Lewes to prosperity with the help of friends and by careful management.[6] On his very fine brass, in Cowfold Church, Sussex, he was described as possessing the qualities of both Martha and Mary.[7] He was not an active vicar-general, but he per-

[1] MS. Latin 9879, fo. 68 (Bibliothèque Nationale).
[2] Denifle, *La Désolation des églises et monastères en France*, i 573, Nos. 1036, 1037.
[3] MS. Latin 9879, fos. 131, 132.
[4] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 31, 32, 54, 55.
[5] *Ibid.* ii 32.
[6] *Ibid.* ii 54, 55.
[7] Waller, *Monumental Brasses*, Plate 35. The date of death is given wrongly as 1433 instead of 1432; it occurred while the prior of La Charité was in England (*cf.* Duckett, ii 39).

BRASS OF PRIOR NELOND

formed the ordinary duties. When Thomas Elmham resigned the office of prior of Lenton in 1427, Nelond appointed John Elmham, a monk of Lenton, as his successor,[1] collected the 'spolia' of £20 and paid it over to Cluny.[2]

In 1424 Abbot Odo de la Perrière succeeded Robert de Chaudesolles at Cluny.[3] It was a time of difficulty and distress at the mother-house; the finances were seriously crippled not only owing to the loss of the English manors valued at £200 a year, but on account of non-payment of yearly dues from numerous priories in France which had been ruined in the Hundred Years War.[4] The number of monks at Cluny had been reduced from 120 to 80;[5] large sums were expended on corn to provide them with their daily bread, and they were obliged to go without the pittances with which Cluny had been endowed formerly. Some of them were not willing to suffer these deprivations in silence, and their complaints were made to the Pope, who ordered a visitation.[6] In 1428 the visitors reported that the obligation of divine service by day and night was generally well fulfilled, the rules of silence and fasting were observed and discipline was maintained. They issued a long series of instructions relating mainly to housekeeping details, the better provision of food, wine, and clothes, *e.g.* in the great heat of the summer, when a thunderstorm was brewing and the bells were to be rung, the keeper of the wine was to provide as much as was needed.[7] A few years later, in 1436, the monks of Cluny complained at the general chapter that they had water coloured with wine instead of good wine mixed with water.[8]

The English vicars-general had failed notably in collecting money for Cluny, and in 1431 or 1432 Abbot Odo de la Perrière notified the archbishop of Canterbury that he had appointed Theobald Douet, the prior of La Charité, as his

[1] Rot. Pat. 5 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 12. [2] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 54.
[3] *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. Marrier et Duchesne, pp. 1675, 1676.
[4] Denifle, *La Désolation des églises et monastères en France, e.g.* i 45, 119, 165, 176, 209, 278, 279, ii 429, 691, 709, 726.
[5] A. Vaquier, 'Une réforme de Cluny en 1428,' *Revue Bénédictine*, xxxv 159.
[6] *Revue Bénédictine*, xxxv 164; *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. Marrier et Duchesne, p. 1676.
[7] *Revue Bénédictine*, xxxv 157–198. [8] *Ibid.* p. 158.

vicar-general in England and Scotland.[1] He had heard with great regret that owing to the papal schism and the wars between France and England, the priories, houses and cells in England had fallen away from the right observance of religious life; and he requested Archbishop Chicheley to give all the help in his power to the prior of La Charité. Theobald Douet had been almoner of Cluny before he was promoted to be prior of La Charité in 1426,[2] and he understood the difficulties of both the mother-houses. After his return from England in 1432 it was decided that the abbot of Cluny and the prior of La Charité should issue separate and supplementary commissions to the prior of Lewes, so that, in future, the houses dependent on La Charité, *i.e.* Bermondsey, Northampton, Pontefract, and Wenlock, could not repudiate his authority. The prior of St. Martin-des-Champs had his own vicar-general, Thomas Dene, prior of St. James at Exeter, who visited Barnstaple in 1420,[3] and acted for him again in 1428.[4]

Robert Auncell, prior of Lewes, lost no time in petitioning the king for leave to execute the commissions of vicar-general of the abbot of Cluny and the prior of La Charité. They were carefully scrutinized, and the permission was granted, 'notwithstanding any statutes to the contrary,' but with a stipulation that if the prior of Lewes visited Bermondsey, it must be as an abbey, and moreover the clause by which he was instructed to collect annual dues and other moneys for Cluny was made void by a special prohibition against sending gold or silver, in bulk or in money, out of the kingdom.[5] He did his utmost to be loyal to Cluny. In a letter[6] dated July 15, 1434, he reported that he had visited Lenton, Montacute, Thetford, Northampton, and Pontefract, and intended to visit Wenlock as soon as he had the opportunity. He had cited the prior and monks of Bermondsey to appear before him

[1] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 33, 34.
[2] *Cartulaire de la Charité*, ed. R. de Lespinasse, p. 428; cf. *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds de Cluny*, ed. L. Delisle, p. 297.
[3] Chancery Miscellanea, 20/5, P.R.O.
[4] *Episcopal Registers of Exeter, Lacey*, ed. O. Reichel, p. 112.
[5] Rot. Pat. 11 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 6.
[6] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 53–58.

in their chapter-house on a certain day, but the king immediately issued a prohibition, of which he had sent a copy to Cluny. He had made inquiries about the four manors of Cluny without success. He sent £13 6*s.* 4*d.* for 'spolia' of Lewes in arrears in spite of the king's prohibition against sending gold or silver out of the kingdom, and hoped that he would not be prosecuted for contempt, but he had failed to collect any other arrears of 'spolia' or annual dues, for the priors always pleaded the king's prohibition. Prior Auncell observed that the difficulties of English houses with French superiors were increasing. The bishops were trying to break down the privileges of the Cluniacs by an interpretation of the Act of 1414 for the resumption of alien priories, and the king was presenting priors to the bishops in cases in which the nomination belonged to French monasteries. He was also appropriating for his own purposes money for 'spolia' and annual dues which were claimed by the abbot of Cluny and others. The bishop of Lincoln was making every effort to get jurisdiction over Northampton and had cited the prior to appear before him on the charge of perjury; the prior had taken legal advice and refused to obey the citation.[1] In the face of all these difficulties Prior Auncell ventured to suggest to the abbot of Cluny that he should appoint a vicar-general with full powers for ten years or longer.

Auncell had sent a truthful report to Cluny. The bishop of Lincoln failed in his attempt on Northampton, but the troubles of the priory were not over until 1437, when the documents concerning the election and collation of Prior Braibrook in 1429 were ratified by the king for a fine of £20, representing probably the 'spolia' claimed by La Charité.[2] Thetford and Pontefract were determined to get free not merely from Cluny and La Charité, but from any authority delegated by them to vicars-general in England. Henry VI helped the monks of Pontefract to get a papal bull in 1441, enabling them to elect their prior in absolute independence, and giving the prior power to

[1] Canon C. W. Foster has kindly informed me that there is no reference to these proceedings in the register of W. Gray, Bishop of Lincoln, 1431–36.

[2] Rot. Pat. 16 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 12.

profess his own monks.[1] Thetford secured similar privileges in 1447.[2]

A few years later the French Cluniac houses were deprived for ever of those priories and lands which had been in the king's hands since 1414. In 1419 Henry V conquered Normandy and in 1420 he became heir to the king of France by the treaty of Troyes. His attitude towards the French monasteries which had been impoverished by the loss of their English possessions was changed, and he promised Pope Martin V that he would convert alien priories and lands in England into endowments for monasteries, churches, and pious uses, and give compensation to the original owners in France.[3] He appointed Philip Morgan, bishop of Worcester, then a member of the privy council, and two other persons to hear the claims of the foreign houses and to award a money compensation,[4] and there is evidence that the bishop of Worcester sanctioned one such agreement for the benefit of the abbot and monks of St. Remi at Reims.[5] In 1434 the English envoys to the Council of Bâle received instructions from the king that the question of restoring the alien priories could not be reopened because Henry V had permission from Pope Martin V to grant them away for pious uses.[6] In 1438, in a letter to the convocation of Canterbury, Henry VI lamented the decay of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 'the two luminaries from which the chief part of the fame and glory of the crown and kingdom were derived,' and desired help for them out of the patrimony of the Church.[7] Two years later he formally conveyed the alien priories and estates to a commission consisting of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Bath and Wells, Salisbury and St. Asaph, the earl of Suffolk, Thomas

[1] *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, ed. G. Williams, i 121, 122 (R.S.); *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ix 205, x 133.

[2] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, x 305.

[3] *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, ii 263–265.

[4] Denifle, *La Désolation des églises et monastères en France*, i 576, No. 1039.

[5] Suppliques Eugen. IV, No. 261, fo. 141b. I am indebted to Dom U. Berlière, O.S.B., for a transcript of this document from the register at the Vatican.

[6] *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, ii 263–265.

[7] *Ibid.* i 55, 56.

Beckington, and several others.[1] The result was that the Cluniac priory of St. James at Exeter was given to King's College, Cambridge,[2] and St. Clears to All Souls, Oxford.[3] Lands at Newington Longeville and Witchingham, which had belonged to the Cluniac priory of Longueville in Normandy, were given to New College, a valuable endowment worth £150 a year.[4] St. Helen priory in the Isle of Wight was granted to Eton College.[5] Two of the manors of Cluny, Letcombe Regis and Offord Cluny, were given to Westminster Abbey.[6] The king and his advisers had fulfilled a part of Henry V's agreement with Pope Martin V to grant the alien priories for pious uses, but they had paid no compensation to the French monasteries. France and England were again at war, and the English were gradually losing all their conquests in France.

A study of the succession of the priors in several of the Cluniac houses in the second half of the fifteenth century is most bewildering. The Crown was trying to get the nomination of the priors either in collusion with the popes by sanctioning a papal provision, or by so interpreting the Statute of Provisors[7] as to exclude the nominations of foreign superiors through the vicar-general. There were divided opinions in the monasteries: one party aimed at securing the independence of an exempt Benedictine monastery like Westminster and St. Albans, the other party tried to be loyal members of the Cluniac Order, preferring a nominal dependence on a distant French superior to interference from the Crown. In 1452 another means of securing the nomination of an important Cluniac house was tried on behalf of the Crown. John Benet had been prior of Montacute for thirty-seven years, and he sent his resignation to the Pope through his proctor, an Italian merchant.[8] The proceedings suggest collusion between

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, x 802, 803 (ed. 1710).
[2] Rot. Pat. 22 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 6.
[3] Rot. Pat. 24 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 15.
[4] *Newington Longeville Charters*, ed. H. E. Salter, p. x (Oxfordshire Record Society).
[5] Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, p. 163.
[6] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1441–46, p. 350.
[7] *Statutes of the Realm*, ii 72.
[8] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, x 124, 125.

him and Henry VI, who wanted the nomination for a Benedictine monk of Westminster, Thomas Pomeray. As the resignation was made at Rome, Montacute Priory was reserved to the Pope, and on September 5 he collated Thomas Pomeray on the petition of Henry VI; he made the late prior, John Benet, a papal chaplain, exempted him from all ordinary jurisdiction and assigned him a life pension out of the revenues of the priory.[1] Thomas Pomeray had been a monk of Westminster for thirty years and had studied at Oxford; in 1437 as the illegitimate son of a nobleman he received a papal dispensation to hold office, and was in succession cellarer, treasurer, keeper of the New Work, chamberlain and again treasurer at Westminster.[2] On December 16, Henry VI formally pardoned him for his technical offence against the Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire, and permitted him to accept and execute the papal bulls.[3] However, the monks of Montacute had elected Robert Montague, a monk of the house, his election had been confirmed by the prior of Monk Farley acting as commissary for the prior of Lewes, the vicar-general of Cluny, and the mandate to the escheators to restore the temporalities was issued on October 3.[4] So Thomas Pomeray remained at Westminster.

Age and infirmity weakened the purpose of Abbot Odo de la Perrière in the last years of his life.[5] He was succeeded in 1456 by Jean de Bourbon, bishop of Le Puy, who had a papal dispensation to hold the abbey of Cluny with his bishopric. He is the best known of the later abbots of Cluny, for he built the abbot's house in Paris, which is now the Musée de Cluny, a new abbot's lodging at Cluny, and the Chapelle de Bourbon, both of which escaped destruction after the Revolution. The monk who compiled the chronicle of the abbots paid a glowing tribute to his memory.[6] He aimed at restoring Cluny to its former position and regaining all that had been lost in the Hundred

[1] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, x 125.
[2] E. H. Pearce, *The Monks of Westminster*, pp. 37, 138, 139.
[3] Rot. Pat. 31 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 11.
[4] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1452–61, p. 17.
[5] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 60.
[6] *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. Marrier et Duchesne, pp. 1678–84.

Years War and the papal schism. At the general chapter of 1458 it was reported that many monasteries were in a ruinous condition, others had slipped out of the Order, and more than sixty years had elapsed since the provinces of England and Scotland, Spain, Italy, Hungary and Poland had been visited.[1] The firstfruits of all vacant abbeys and priories for ten years were appropriated to the expenses of this visitation. The most distinguished and learned monks were chosen as visitors for the different provinces.[2]

The three visitors who came to England were the prior of Vaucluse, doctor of theology, the sacrist of Cluny, a licentiate in canon law, and the archdeacon of Cluny;[3] they impressed the abbot of St. Albans as honourable and distinguished men of high character and great intelligence and learning.[4] Careful preparations were made for their success. The archives of Cluny were searched, copies were made of various documents, and a brief was drawn up for the recovery of the lost manors.[5] The envoys had wide powers to act for the abbot of Cluny in every capacity, and they had letters to all the English priors.[6] The recovery of jurisdiction over the whole province of England was another aim, and they brought with them a copy of the long series of statutes of Abbot Jean de Bourbon which had been accepted at the last general chapter.[7] Their commission was dated at Cluny on July 23, 1458,[8] and they had a letter of introduction to the king from the queen's father, Réné, Count of Anjou.[9] They were in Paris on August 8,[10] and crossed to Dover, the chief port for passenger traffic in the Middle Ages. On arriving in London they heard that the king was at St. Albans, so they rode on there and came to the monastery to ask for an audience.[11] The king deputed the bishop of Durham, Lord Gray de

[1] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, xi 559.
[2] *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, p. 1680.
[3] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 73.
[4] *Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede*, ed. H. T. Riley, i 317 (R.S.).
[5] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 73–75, 83–85 (wrongly dated 'about 1457').
[6] *Ibid.* ii 85.
[7] *Ibid.* ii 84; *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, pp. 1594–1615.
[8] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 75.
[9] *Ibid.* ii. 59, 60.
[10] *Ibid.* ii 217.
[11] *Registrum Whethamstede*, i 317.

Ruthven, and the chancellor to hear them ; they met first in the church and then withdrew to the vestry. The prior of Vaucluse explained that they had been sent by the abbot of Cluny for three reasons : firstly, to tell the king that his ancestors were most generous benefactors, and in virtue of their gifts he was regarded as their principal founder and specially remembered in all their prayers ; secondly, to recover the lost manors of Cluny ; and thirdly, to ask permission to visit all monasteries and priories which had been at any time under the jurisdiction of Cluny. The king's ministers notified his command that they should return to London, and an answer would be given them with the advice of his council. Before leaving St. Albans the Cluniac monks had an interview with the queen, and were most hospitably received and entertained by the abbot of St. Albans. The weeks passed away in London, and they received no answer to their persuasive petition,[1] although they went daily to the palace of Westminster, and lords of the council promised them an audience of the king. Peace between the Lancastrian and Yorkist parties had been patched up a few months earlier, but it was merely a truce before the outbreak of civil war in 1459. It was impossible to pay £200 a year out of the exchequer to Cluny, or to give back manors and priories which had been added to the emoluments of Westminster Abbey, of Eton, and of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. The prior of Vaucluse addressed a third petition to the king, reproaching him for despoiling Cluny to endow colleges of students, thus robbing Peter to pay Paul.[2] They were returning home with empty hands, but nevertheless, so long as the walls of Cluny stood, prayers would be offered for the kings of England.

On November 13 the prior of Vaucluse wrote in great depression to the abbot of St. Albans.[3] After four months in London they had obtained nothing from the king and council. The youngest of them, the archdeacon of Cluny, had died. After paying their bills for lodging in London,

[1] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 76–80, ' Secunda Supplicatio.'
[2] *Ibid.* ii. 80–83, ' Tertia Supplicatio.'
[3] *Registrum Whethamstede*, i 318–321.

they had only five gold crowns,[1] about sixteen shillings and eightpence, to meet the expenses of travelling two hundred and sixty leagues home to Cluny. In gratitude for the abbot's kindness, he sent him a little present, a treatise on English knighthood which he had written in London, and also a Cluniac habit, for he had heard that the abbot wanted one like those which he had seen them wearing at St. Albans. 'I wish it were a new one,' he added, 'but it is all I have.' The abbot of St. Albans was touched by the gifts and the letter, and he sent a few gold pennies to help the Cluniacs on their way home.[2]

The prior of Vaucluse had summed up the failure of the mission from Cluny in these words :

> 'We have been despoiled of our manors and of the yearly payments due to us, and what is even worse, we have lost the obedience of our thirty-eight priories.' [3]

This sentence attracted the notice of Bishop Tanner, who wrote that Cluny was then deprived of the subjection of all the English houses, and his statement has been repeated in error by Sir George Duckett and other historians.[4] The deprivation was a slow process which began long before 1458 and was continued for some time afterwards.

The priors of Lewes continued to receive commissions to act as vicar-general of the abbot of Cluny with the consent of the Crown,[5] and the last official act was entered on the patent roll in 1473, when Prior Attewell confirmed the election of Thomas Sudbury as prior of Northampton.[6] But after the failure of the mission in 1459 Abbot Jean de Bourbon took little interest in the English province, and even neglected the faithful house of Lewes. On the death of the prior in 1464 the monks complied with the usual formalities and sent a trusty messenger to Cluny ; [7] no answer came, and nine weeks later they complained of the

[1] *Medieval England*, ed. H. W. C. Davis, p. 561.
[2] *Registrum Whethamstede*, i 321, 322 ; cf. *Medieval England*, pp. 565, 566.
[3] *Registrum Whethamstede*, i 320.
[4] T. Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, p. xv, note (c) ; Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 7.
[5] Rot. Pat. 39 Hen. VI, mm. 15, 20 ; Rymer, *Foedera*, xi 464, 465.
[6] Rot. Pat. 13 Ed. IV, pt. 2, mm. 14, 16.
[7] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 87–90.

delay and sent another messenger to travel to Cluny as quickly as possible; they were in serious money difficulties, tenths were due to the king and a subsidy to the Pope, they were four thousand ducats in debt through lawsuits, and their rent roll was reduced by one-half.[1] The delay was deeply resented, and during the life of the new prior, Thomas Attewell, a petition was presented to the Pope from the prior and convent of Lewes praying that the monastery of Lewes and all its dependent priories might be released from dependence on Cluny.[2] The petition was supported by letters from Edward IV and Queen Elizabeth, and their son, Richard, Duke of York and Norfolk. In a bull dated September 20, 1480, Pope Sixtus IV made the monastery directly subject to the papal see, whereby a yearly payment of a mark became due to the papal collector in London, and he gave the monks the privilege of freely electing their prior.[3] Sixtus IV granted a similar exemption from Cluny for Lenton priory in 1484.[4]

In the reign of Edward IV the priors of La Charité acted independently of Cluny and attempted to regain their former rights at Bermondsey, Wenlock, and Northampton. They failed ultimately, but struggles between rival priors, nominated by the prior of La Charité and nominated or confirmed by the king, disturbed the peace of Northampton and Wenlock for over twenty years. Philibert de Maraffin,[5] prior of La Charité (1470–86), was a counsellor of Louis XI of France, and a kinsman of Louis de Maraffin, Seigneur de Notz-en-Brenne, one of the two French envoys in England in 1475.[6] A very small party among the monks was on his side, and their leader was an ambitious and unscrupulous Welshman, William of Brecknock, a professed monk of Northampton, supported by John of Shrewsbury who was probably professed at Wenlock.

On September 13, 1472, Prior William Hammond of Northampton asked the king to send a writ to the sheriff of Northampton for the arrest of two of his monks, William Brecknock and William Stone, who had put off their habits

[1] Duckett, *op. cit.* ii 90, 91.
[2] *Ibid.* ii 92, 93.
[3] *Ibid.* ii 92–98.
[4] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, xiii 191.
[5] *Cartulaire de la Charité*, ed. R. de Lespinasse, p. 428.
[6] C. L. Schofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward IV*, ii 169, 170.

and were wandering about from place to place.[1] A writ was issued on October 15,[2] but William Brecknock escaped arrest. Early in 1473 he had received a commission to act as vicar-general for the prior of La Charité, with power to rule and govern all the priories and dependencies of La Charité in England, mentioning by name Bermondsey, Wenlock, Northampton, Pontefract and even Daventry,[3] which had slipped out of the Cluniac Order in the thirteenth century. William Brecknock appointed two commissaries to act on his behalf: William Westcarre,[4] titular bishop of Sidon, who was acting as suffragan for the bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Candour, doctor of law. He was probably in London waiting for an opportunity to exercise his authority.

On April 5, 1473, the monks of Bermondsey secured a licence to elect an abbot in the place of John Bromley, who had resigned after forty years.[5] They at once elected a monk of the house, John Marlow, and on April 9 the king issued letters patent to the archbishop of Canterbury to scrutinize the proceedings and confirm the election, as on each successive occasion since 1399.[6] With extraordinary audacity William Brecknock asserted the prior of La Charité's right to confirm the election, the claim was accepted at the chancery, and on April 13 the king sent a mandate to the escheators to restore the temporalities to the abbot of Bermondsey, whose election had been confirmed by the bishop of Sidon and Thomas Candour on behalf of William Brecknock.[7] His commission was not recognized at Northampton when Prior William Hammond resigned in December; the monks elected a new prior from outside their own house, Thomas Sudbury, a monk of Bermondsey, and in accordance with the procedure at the last two Northampton elections, Sudbury was confirmed by

[1] Chancery Warrants (Series I), No. 1787.
[2] Rot. Pat., 12 Ed. IV, pt. 2, m. 32.
[3] *Lincoln Episcopal Registers, Gravesend*, p. 104, *cf.* p. 114 (Canterbury and York Society).
[4] W. Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, p. 199 (ed. 1897).
[5] Rot. Pat. 13 Ed. IV, pt. 1, m. 13.
[6] Rot. Pat. 13 Ed. IV, pt. 1, m. 17; *cf.* Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. V, pt. 1, m. 18; Rot. Pat. 11 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 9.
[7] Rot. Pat. 13 Ed. IV, pt. 1, m. 13.

the prior of Lewes acting as vicar-general for the abbot of Cluny.[1] Later evidence suggests that Brecknock had already persuaded the prior of La Charité to collate him to the priory of Northampton, but it was seven years before the king accepted this collation; in 1480 he pardoned Brecknock for offences against the Statute of Provisors, transgressions, misprisions and contempts, and recognized his commission to act as vicar-general for the prior of La Charité.[2] In the previous year Brecknock had succeeded in persuading the king to recognize John of Shrewsbury, who had been nominated prior of Wenlock by the prior of La Charité in 1471[3] and had been kept out for eight years by the king's nominee, John Stratton,[4] who secured a warrant for the arrest of his rival and three other monks.[5] When Brecknock became prior of Northampton in 1480,[6] Thomas Sudbury, who had been elected by the monks in 1473, was set aside; as the life of the monastery could not have been harmonious, Brecknock promoted Sudbury in 1482 to be prior of Wenlock in the place of John Shrewsbury, who was said to have resigned.[7]

Between 1483 and 1485 Brecknock attempted to visit Bermondsey Abbey, alleging 'the great ruin and decay as well of the said monastery as of religion within the same.'[8] He summoned the abbot and monks to appear before him in their chapter-house on a certain day, but they absented themselves. After warning the abbot of the result of his contumacy, he returned on a later day 'to make further process according to the law,' and entered the nave of the abbey church. Then, as he wrote subsequently to the chancellor,

'the said John Marlowe, abbot, with one master John Cooke, doctor of law, of one confederacy which had gathered the multitude of lay people notoriously and with force took your said beseecher, pulled him from his doctors, notaries and other of his learned counsel, and had him to secret hold and prison where

[1] Rot. Pat. 13 Ed. IV, pt. 2, mm. 14, 16.
[2] Rot. Pat. 20 Ed. IV, pt. 1, m. 3.
[3] Rot. Pat. 19 Ed. IV, m. 25; *cf.* Rot. Pat. 11 Ed. IV, pt. 1, m. 10.
[4] Rot. Pat. 8 Ed. IV, pt. 2, m. 23.
[5] Chancery Warrants (Series I), No. 1787.
[6] Rot. Pat. 20 Ed. IV, pt. 1, m. 3.
[7] Rot. Pat. 22 Ed. IV, pt. 1, m. 22.
[8] Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 47, No. 58.

they yet keep him, intending to murder him or otherwise mischief him.'

Nevertheless, he managed to send a letter to the chancellor asking him to serve the abbot of Bermondsey with a writ of subpœna to appear before the king in his chancery with William Brecknock. He was released eventually.

Thomas Sudbury was not content to remain prior of Wenlock and determined to get back to Northampton. On December 4, 1485, Henry VII issued letters patent to Thomas Sudbury that he might take possession of Northampton Priory, to which he was elected and confirmed in 1473, notwithstanding any grant or confirmation made to William Brecknock.[1] But six months later, on June 7, 1486, William Brecknock secured from the chancery an exemplification of the letters patent of Edward IV confirming him as prior of Northampton.[2] At last the archbishop of Canterbury intervened. On February 6, 1487, he cited Thomas Sudbury and William Brecknock to appear before him at Lambeth within fifteen days.[3] The archbishop had heard that owing to the continual quarrels between them religious life was abandoned, divine worship was almost entirely neglected, the monks were going about armed and leading dissolute lives. The archbishop's commissaries reported that Sudbury was willing to appear, but Brecknock was in hiding and they could not cite him personally. On February 27 the archbishop instructed them to try again to serve Brecknock with a personal summons, if they could approach him in safety ; if not, to put a notice on the doors of the monastery or of the priory church, or the nearest parish church, or notify his neighbours and friends, or take any means to convey the citation to appear before the archbishop within fifteen days. Nevertheless, the scandal continued for three years longer. In 1489 a petition was presented in Parliament on behalf of the monks of Northampton, the king's poor bedesmen.[4]

'On account of the great trouble of late years, the goods of the monastery, the ornaments of the church, copes, vestments,

[1] Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. VII, pt. 2, m. 22 (4).
[2] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1485–94, p. 110.
[3] Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Morton, i, fo. 8, 8v.
[4] *Rolls of Parliament*, vi 434.

corporasses, chalices, silver basons, silver images of saints, and all other jewels and plate, the monks' feather beds, coverlets, sheets, diapers, pots and pans'

were gone; and worse still, the future was compromised, for in order to support themselves both the pretended priors had sold annuities and leases and bonds under the common seal of the monastery. The monks petitioned the king that all such annuities, leases and bonds should be void, except such as a commission consisting of the chancellor of England, the Privy Seal, the bishop of Lincoln, and one of the chief judges, or any three of them, should order to be good and reasonable. The petition was granted and the monks took steps to get a confirmation entered on the patent roll.[1]

On February 16, 1491, Thomas Sudbury appeared before the archbishop's consistory court in the great chapel of the manor of Lambeth and is said to have read the following document:

'I, *William Brecknock*, professed monk of the priory of St. Andrew, Northampton, for certain true and legitimate reasons wish to be relieved of the government of the priory, and whatever right I have had or have in the said priory, I resign into your hands as judge and delegate of the apostolic see, not in fear or by craft, nor under compulsion, but absolutely of my own free well. I swear on the Gospels that I will never go back on my resignation.'[2]

It may be surmised that Archbishop Morton's clerk made a mistake or an omission in the register. It is clearly stated therein that Thomas Sudbury read a resignation 'prioratus sui,' and that on his petition the archbishop admitted the resignation, and declared the priory vacant so far as it concerned the person of the aforesaid Thomas.[3] When, or if ever, William Brecknock appeared to read his own resignation remains a mystery. It was not until January 19, 1492, that the king signified his assent to the election of Thomas Roche, monk of Northampton, and it was confirmed by the archbishop of Canterbury as

[1] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1485–94, p. 300.
[2] Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Morton, i, fo. 29.
[3] *Ibid.*, *cf.* C. Jenkins, 'Cardinal Morton's Register,' *Tudor Studies*, ed. R. W. Seton Watson, 1924, p. 41.

visitor and reformer of exempt monasteries in the province of Canterbury and judge delegate of the apostolic see.[1]

Wenlock had suffered less than Northampton, but the monks were determined to gain the independence which Lewes already enjoyed. In 1494 they secured a papal bull releasing them from all dependence on Cluny or La Charité, and giving them freedom of election.[2]

At the end of the fifteenth century many of the links which bound the English Cluniac monasteries to the mother-houses in France had been snapped, and the organisation of the English province was broken in pieces. By the request of Henry VII, on March 6, 1490, Pope Innocent VIII gave the archbishop of Canterbury power to visit, correct and reform all exempt monasteries, and among them those of the Order of Cluny.[3]

[1] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1485–94, p. 373.

[2] Register of Wenlock, fos. 47–48. I wish to express my grateful thanks to Lord Forester for the loan of this manuscript, *post*, *p.* 125.

[3] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii 630–632 ; *cf.* p. 619.

APPENDIX I[1]

THE Cluniac houses in England and Wales.

(i) Dependent on Cluny :
- Lenton.
- Lewes.
- Montacute.
- Thetford.

(ii) Dependent on La Charité :
- Bermondsey.
- Daventry, until it became an independent Benedictine house *circa* 1231.
- Northampton (St. Andrew's).
- Pontefract.
- Wenlock.

(iii) Dependent on St. Martin-des-Champs :
- Barnstaple.
- Exeter (St. James).
- St. Clears.

(iv) Dependent on Ste. Foy de Longueville :
- Newington Longeville.
- Witchingham.

(v) Dependent on Lenton :
- Kersall.

(vi) Dependent on Lewes :
- Castle Acre.
- Clifford.
- Farley.
- Monks Horton.
- Prittlewell.
- Stanesgate.

(vii) Dependent on Montacute :
- Carswell.
- East Holme.
- Malpas.
- St. Cadix.

(viii) Dependent on Thetford :
- Little Horkesley.
- Wangford.

[1] L. Guilloreau, ' Les Prieurés Anglais de l'Ordre de Cluny,' *Congrès du Millénaire de Cluny* (Académie de Mâcon, 1910), i 291–373 ; and *Revue Mabillon*, viii 1–42, 159–188.

(ix) Dependent on Bermondsey :
Derby (St. James).

(x) Dependent on Pontefract :
Monk Bretton, until it became an independent Benedictine monastery *circa* 1279.

(xi) Dependent on Wenlock :
Dudley (St. James).
Preen.
St. Helens, Isle of Wight.

(xii) Dependent on Castle Acre :
Bromholm.
Mendham.
Slevesholm.
Normansburgh.

APPENDIX II

Counties of England and Wales in which Cluniac houses were situated :

Buckinghamshire	Newington Longeville.
Carmarthenshire	St. Clears.
Cornwall	St. Cadix.
Derbyshire	St. James, Derby.
Devonshire	Barnstaple.
,,	Carswell.
,,	St. James, Exeter.
Dorset	East Holme.
Essex	Little Horkesley.
,,	Prittlewell.
,,	Stanesgate.
Hampshire	St. Helens, Isle of Wight.
Herefordshire	Clifford.
Kent	Monks Horton.
Lancashire	Kersall.
Monmouthshire	Malpas.
Norfolk	Bromholm.
,,	Castle Acre.
,,	Normansburgh.
,,	Slevesholm.
,,	Thetford.
,,	Witchingham.
Northamptonshire	Daventry.[1]
,,	St. Andrew's, Northampton.

[1] Became Benedictine in the thirteenth century, *cf.* p. 83, note 3.

Nottinghamshire	Lenton.
Shropshire	Preen.
,,	Wenlock.
Somerset	Montacute.
Suffolk	Mendham.
,,	Wangford.
Surrey	Bermondsey.
Sussex	Lewes.
Wiltshire	Farley.
Worcestershire	Dudley.
Yorkshire	Monk Bretton.[1]
,,	Pontefract.

There were Cluniac nunneries at Delapré, Northampton, and at Arthington, Yorkshire.

[1] *V.C.H., Yorkshire*, iii 91–93.

V

THE PRIORY OF LA CHARITÉ-SUR-LOIRE AND THE MONASTERY OF BERMONDSEY

THE monastery of St. Saviour of Bermondsey was founded for monks of the Order of Cluny,[1] in the reign of William Rufus, and stood on the south side of the Thames, about half a mile from the river bank, and half a mile east of London Bridge.

The first Cluniac monastery in England was founded at Lewes in Sussex, about 1077, by William de Warenne and his wife Gundrada.[2] They were on their way to Rome, when they visited Cluny, and afterwards asked Abbot Hugh for monks for the monastery which they intended to found. He hesitated to send monks to a distant land beyond the sea, and there was some delay before Prior Lanzo and three monks came to take possession of the stone church of St. Pancras below Lewes Castle. Lanzo ruled Lewes for thirty years, and in the judgement of William of Malmesbury, no monastery excelled Lewes in the good lives of the monks, in hospitality to guests and in charity to all.[3]

Another Cluniac monastery was at Wenlock in Shropshire, at which Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, refounded the monastery of St. Milburge in 1081 or 1082.[4] The first monks of Wenlock came from a very important daughter-house of Cluny, La Charité on the Loire, near Nevers, about

[1] R. Graham, 'The Cluniac Order and its English Province,' *B.A.A. Journal*, xxviii 169–174.

[2] G. F. Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluny*, i 47–49; *cf.* W. H. Godfrey, *The Priory of St. Pancras, Lewes*, 1927; W. H. St. John Hope, *Ibid., Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, xli 1–34; *Sussex Archaeol. Collections*, xlix 66–88.

[3] William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 207. (Rolls Series.)

[4] R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, iii 224–230; D. H. S. Cranage, 'The Monastery of St. Milburge at Much Wenlock,' *Archæologia*, lxxii 105–131.

a hundred and forty-two miles south of Paris. La Charité was refounded in 1059 by a knight named Bernard de Chaillant, and under the first two priors, Gerard, who died in 1089, and Wilencus, the monks helped to spread the Cluniac Order.[1] La Charité had nearly fifty dependent priories in France, one in Portugal, one in Venice, one near Constantinople, a considerable house at Longueville near Dieppe, and five or six houses in England.

Only a fragment of the great church of Cluny survives, the southern arm of the greater transept with the octagonal tower called the 'clocher de l'eau bénite,' and the smaller 'clocher de l'horloge,' and the beautiful chapelle de Bourbon, added in the fifteenth century. When consecrated in 1132, it was the largest church of the age, having double aisles, a double transept, and an ambulatory with radiating chapels.[2] A great narthex was added about 1220 to the west end in which the laity stood so that they might not be in the way of processions on Sundays and festivals.[3]

At the Revolution, La Charité was more fortunate than Cluny. Though the greater part of the nave was destroyed in the fire of 1559, the choir and transepts and the north-west tower of the west front have survived. The plan of the *first* church of La Charité was unlike Cluny; instead of an ambulatory with radiating chapels, La Charité had a transept and seven parallel apses; this was the church which was sufficiently advanced for dedication by Pope Paschal II in 1107.[4]

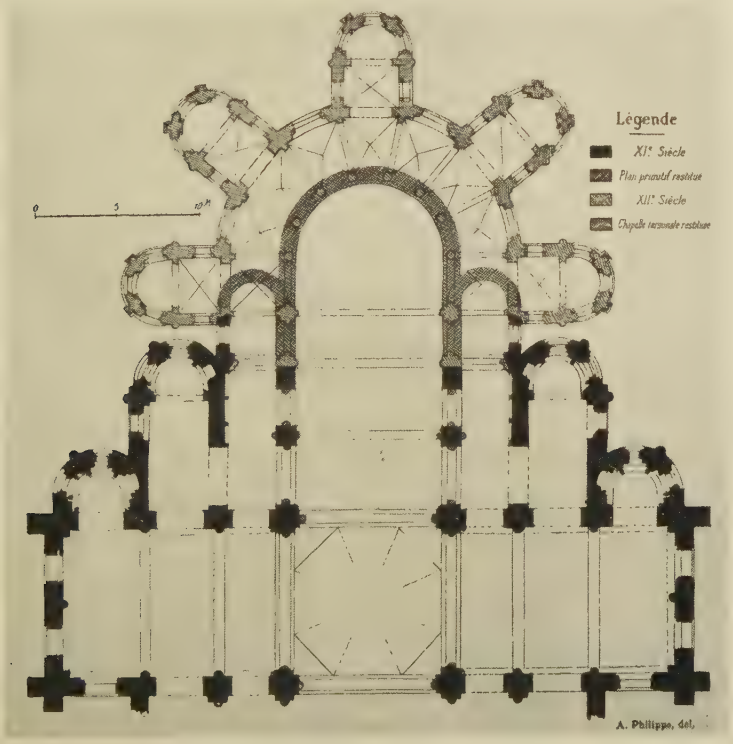
The present chevet with five radiating chapels probably dates from the second half of the twelfth century. Until the fire of 1559 the nave consisted of eleven bays with double aisles.

In 1081 or 1082 [5] the first monks of La Charité came to Wenlock, and it is possible that when they passed through

[1] J. Locquin, *Nevers et Moulins*, pp. 81–92 (La Charité).
[2] J. Virey, *L'Abbaye de Cluny*, plan and pp. 44–64, 1921.
[3] B. Albers, *Consuetudines Monastice*, i 138; *cf. ante*, p. 44, Plate II; J. Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, V p. 253, 1723; *Millénaire de Cluny*, II. p. 234.
[4] A. Philippe, 'L'Eglise de la Charité sur Loire,' *Bulletin Monumental*, lxix 469–500, 1905.
[5] Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, iii 224–230.

LA CHARITÉ-SUR-LOIRE, TYMPANUM OF DOOR, SOUTH AISLE, REPRESENTING THE TRANSFIGURATION, AND BELOW, THE MAGI AND THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE

From J. Baum, 'Romanesque Architecture in France'



PLAN, SHOWING THE CHOIR AND TRANSEPTS OF LA CHARITÉ-SUR-LOIRE

From 'Bulletin Monumental', vol. LXIX

London on the way to their home in Shropshire, Alwyn Child, one of the citizens, was fired with the desire of helping to found a Cluniac house near London, and that, as a first step, he endowed the monks of La Charité with rents in the city of London.

The history of Bermondsey is an extraordinary tangle. About 1433 the Annals of the monastery were compiled either by one of the monks, or by a clerk in the service of the house. The sole manuscript is a small quarto on vellum, written throughout in the same clear hand, and probably in the year 1433, when it comes to an end.[1] There are blank spaces between all the years, and against a number of years the entry is 'hoc anno' and a blank.[2] There are large extracts from the Annals in the Monasticon,[3] and they were printed in full in 1866.[4] Dr. Luard observed that the Annals of Bermondsey differed from almost all the other monastic Annals in not being written contemporaneously from year to year, and that the compiler had made extracts from the chroniclers, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, the *Flores Historiarum*, and such other well-known sources as Higden's 'Polycronicon,' and that the general history was not free from errors of date. He held that the chief value of the Annals was in the history of the monastery, and the complete list of the priors, and the full details of lands and houses acquired from time to time. These Annals are a stumbling-block to me, and after comparing them with other records of Bermondsey, and with episcopal and public records, which are more easily accessible than when Dr. Luard wrote his introduction, I have come to the conclusion that no statement in the Annals about Bermondsey can be accepted without reserve, unless it can be proved from another source.

There was some reason for the compilation of the Annals about 1433, and I venture to think that it was connected with the presence in England in 1432 of Theodore Douet, prior of La Charité, who came to visit the houses of the

[1] *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, vol. iii, pp. xxxv, xxxvi. (Rolls Series.)
[2] MS. Harleian 231. (British Museum.)
[3] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v 95–100.
[4] *Annales Monastici*, iii 423–487.

English province of the Order of Cluny as vicar-general of the abbot of Cluny.[1]

The monk who compiled these Annals started with his fair sheets of vellum and divided them up into years, beginning in 1042, and prepared to fill them in. He had before him a copy of the chronicle known as the *Flores Historiarum*, of which the earlier portion was taken mainly from the greater chronicle of Matthew Paris; from 1265 it was continued by various monks of Westminster until 1326. In the *Flores Historiarum* the compiler of the Annals read that Alwyn, founder of Bermondsey, died in 1094, and that five years earlier in 1089 the monks of Bermondsey came to England when summoned by Archbishop Lanfranc.[2] He had also before him the statement of the Domesday Survey that in the time of Edward the Confessor, Harold held thirteen hides in Bermondsey; in 1086 the land belonged to William the Conqueror, who had given one hide to his half-brother, Robert, Count of Mortain.[3] It is also recorded in the Domesday Survey that at Bermondsey there is a new and handsome church, 'nova et pulchra ecclesia.' The compiler of the Annals dated the Domesday Survey three years too early, and added that the 'nova et pulchra ecclesia' was the church of St. Saviour.[4]

If Alwyn Child gave rents in the city of London to La Charité as early as 1082, the date in the Annals, there was no site for a monastery until William Rufus gave the manor of Bermondsey, and the monks came thither from La Charité in 1089,[5] as the independent Annals of Lewes also testify.[6] As in the parallel case of Lewes in which the original charter of foundation was kept at Cluny,[7] so in the case of Bermondsey, the charter of William Rufus would have been granted to God, St. Mary and the monks of

[1] Duckett, *Charters and records among the archives of the abbey of Cluny*, 1077–1534, II. 33, 34.
[2] *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard, ii 21, 26. (Rolls Series.) *cf.* MS. Cotton, Tiberius, A. fo. 163. (British Museum.)
[3] *Victoria County History of Surrey*, i 296.
[4] *Annales Monastici*, iii 246.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 425–427.
[6] MS. Cotton, Tiberius, A. X., fo. 163. (British Museum.)
[7] G. F. Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluny*, i 49.

La Charité, and kept among the archives of that monastery.[1] Lanzo, prior of Lewes, took the precaution of getting a charter of confirmation from William de Warenne on the ground that the original was at Cluny; no such step was taken at Bermondsey, possibly because the manor was a royal gift, and there appeared to be less necessity for it. It became usual in later centuries for the monasteries to have their charters confirmed by the Crown and the formula was 'We have inspected the following charters and confirm them,' and they were entered on the Rolls of the Chancery, known as the Charter Rolls. A long series of Bermondsey charters was confirmed in 1330,[2] and it is significant that the first is a charter of Henry I, queried as spurious in the calendar of the Charter Rolls. The series was confirmed again by Richard II in 1378,[3] and again by Henry IV in 1400.[4]

I venture to suggest that when the prior of La Charité came to England in 1432 on a mission to recover the lost rights of Cluny and La Charité,[5] he exhibited a copy of the original charter of William Rufus; and accordingly with the charter of Henry I, mentioned above, as a model, the monks of Bermondsey constructed the charter of William Rufus which contains the curious statement that the church of St. Saviour of Bermondsey was held jointly by William Rufus and Alwyn Child. This statement solved a problem for the monks of Bermondsey, who read in the *Flores Historiarum* that Alwyn the founder died in 1094, and knew that William Rufus had given them the manor of Bermondsey. At the present time the charter is only known in a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century transcript.[6]

The antiquary, Leland,[7] who was writing *circa* 1534–1543, commented on the difficulty of deciding whether

[1] It was not entered in the cartulary of La Charité, edited by R. de Lespinasse. Monsieur P. Destray, archiviste of the department of the Nièvre, has kindly informed me that no other records relating to English priories of La Charité are extant at Nevers.

[2] *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, iv 181–186.

[3] Exchequer Transcripts of Charters E., 132, 133 (Public Record Office); *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1377–81, p. 261.

[4] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1399–1400, p. 304.

[5] *Ante*, pp. 73, 74.

[6] MS. Lansdowne, 836 fo. 91, *cf.* Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v 100, No. v.

[7] *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxxiii 13–17.

Alwyn Child or William Rufus was really to be reckoned as the founder.[1] John Stow tried to get over the difficulty by making Alwyn Child the founder, and stating that after his death in 1094 William Rufus gave the monks his manor of Bermondsey, and built for them there a new great church.[2] This assumption cannot be reconciled with the statement in the Domesday Survey of 1086 that there is a new and handsome church.

From sources independent of the Annals, it is possible to state precisely that Henry I gave to Bermondsey the manors of Rotherhithe and Dulwich, a hide of land in Southwark, the manor of Waddon near Croydon, and the churches of Shorn and Cobham in Kent.[3] Henry I was a most generous benefactor of the mother-house of Cluny; in addition to two manors he granted £66 13*s.* 4*d.* a year from the Exchequer, a payment which Stephen commuted by the gift of the manor of Letcombe Regis.[4] In consequence of his generosity Henry I was permitted to take an abbot and monks from Lewes for the monastery which he refounded at Reading, and which was entirely independent of Cluny from the beginning.[5] The relations between King Stephen and Bermondsey were still closer. When he founded the monastery of St. Saviour at Faversham in 1148, the prior of Bermondsey and twelve of the monks went to Faversham with the sanction of the prior of La Charité and the abbot of Cluny.[6] Faversham was independent like Reading; both houses were subject to episcopal visitation[7] and had the status of ordinary Benedictine monasteries.

Stephen, his queen Matilda and his son Eustace, who died before him, were buried in the abbey church of Faversham,[8] and Henry I was buried in the abbey church of Reading. Bermondsey Priory appears to be the only

[1] Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, i 89, 263. (1774.)
[2] Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, ii 66.
[3] *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, iv 182; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v 100, No. v.
[4] *Cal. of Documents preserved in France*, ed. J. H. Round, pp. 507–509.
[5] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, iv 575.
[6] *Ibid.* iv 574, 575.
[7] Reading, *e.g. V.C.H. Berks*, ii 67. Faversham, *e.g.* Register of Archbishop Islip, fo. 103, of Langham, fo. 77b. I am indebted to Miss Irene Churchill for these references.
[8] *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxxvii 54, liv 151.

monastery which William Rufus could claim to have founded.[1] Was it, perhaps, his intention to be buried in the priory church of Bermondsey, and was it frustrated by his sudden death in the New Forest, which led to his burial in the cathedral church of Winchester?

One of the sources used by the monk who compiled the Annals, and not noted by Dr. Luard, was a very important cartulary, a large volume of over two hundred and seventy folios, which was compiled in 1363 by a monk named William Preston.[2] He copied into this manuscript a miscellaneous collection of charters and deeds relating to property, and records of lawsuits, then in the muniment chests of the monastery. This cartulary, which was in the possession of Sir Robert Trappe in the seventeenth century, has vanished, but some of its contents are known from extracts made by several antiquaries of the seventeenth century. Four manuscripts containing extracts are in the British Museum, one is at the College of Arms, and the most important of them by Roger Dodsworth is in the Bodleian Library.[3]

Royal charters were not dated until the reign of Richard I, deeds of private individuals not commonly until the reign of Edward I, and as the monk who compiled the Annals from the cartulary had no clue to the exact dates of the earlier grants, he filled in blank spaces in his manuscript with grants of the possessions of the monastery.

Barons and nobles whose names are well known under the Norman kings were among the benefactors of Bermondsey. Geoffrey Martel gave the manor of Hallingbury,[4] Nigel de Mandeville the manor of Balham,[5] Winebald de Ballon gave lands and tithes at Ampney St. Peter in Gloucestershire.[6] Ansger Brito gave the manor of Preston

[1] E. A. Freeman, *The Reign of William Rufus*, ii 508.

[2] Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, pp. 535, 536.

[3] MSS. Cotton Claudius A. viii, fos. 110–118v.; Harl. 6016, fo. 149; Harl. 2044, fo. 66; Add. 4783, fo. 49 (British Museum); MS. Dodsworth lxxviii, fos. 23v–29, cii, fos. 97–102, Bodleian Library. I am indebted to Mr. W. A. Lindsay for giving me access to the MS. at the College of Arms.

[4] *Annales Monastici*, iii 428. (Rolls Series.)

[5] *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, iv 182.

[6] J. H. Round, *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 189–195.

in Somersetshire, with the condition that the monks should maintain two chaplains to serve the chapel,[1] his son Walter added the manor of Stone.[2] Before 1125 Mary, Countess of Boulogne, sister-in-law of Henry I, gave the manor of Kingweston, in Somersetshire, shortly before she died, and was buried in the priory church.[3] The gift was confirmed by her husband, Eustace, Count of Boulogne, who was a monk of Cluny in 1125, and had resigned his inheritance to his only daughter Matilda, the wife of Stephen. William de Belmeis gave the manor of Andretesbury, in Leicestershire;[4] with the consent of Robert, Earl of Leicester, it was exchanged after Henry I's death for the manor of Widford, in Hertfordshire.[5] Walkelin de Mamynot gave half his land in Greenwich.[6] William de Waterville gave the manor of Warlingham in Surrey, Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln and chancellor of William Rufus, gave the manor of Charlton in Kent.[7] Waltheof FitzSwein gave the church of St. James at Derby, which became a small dependent priory for one or two monks and a prior. It was the only cell of Bermondsey.[8] Among the churches given to the monastery were Rotherhithe, Camberwell, Warlingham and Chelsham, Beddington and Fifield, Writtle and Inglescombe.[9]

The citizens of London were generous benefactors. In 1291 the monks received rents, assessed at £50 for taxation, in sixty-one parishes in the city.[10] There is evidence that their benefactions were entered in the lost cartulary, but the antiquaries of the seventeenth century, who made extracts from it were interested in the pedigrees of barons and knights, and they omitted the names of citizens, merely noting mayors and aldermen, who were witnesses to their gifts.[11] Among these benefactors was Peter, son of Henry

[1] *Inquisitions post mortem* 5 *Henry V*, No. 60 (*a*). (Public Record Office.)
[2] *Annales Monastici*, iii 429. (Rolls Series.)
[3] MS. Dodsworth, lxxviii, fo. 25v. (Bodleian Library.)
[4] *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, iv 182.
[5] MS. Dodsworth, lxxviii, fo. 27v.
[6] *Annales Monastici*, iii 437, *i.e.* West Greenwich now Deptford.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 428. [8] *Victoria County History, Derby*, ii 46.
[9] *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, iv 184.
[10] *Taxation of Pope Nicholas*, pp. 10, 11. (Record Commission.)
[11] MS. Cotton Claudius A., viii, fos. 111v., 112.

Fitz Alwyn, mayor of London 1189–1212 ; Peter's wife was buried in the priory church.[1] It has been suggested that the mayor, Henry Fitz Alwyn, was a lineal descendant of Alwyn Child, the first benefactor of Bermondsey.[2]

Henry II confirmed the privileges of the monastery and granted others.[3] He appointed priors of Bermondsey as abbots of the great Benedictine monasteries of St. Ouen at Rouen, of Evesham, Abingdon, Faversham and Glastonbury.[4] The right exercised by the Norman and Angevin kings of nominating the heads of the great Benedictine houses ceased in 1215 ; in the first clause of Magna Charta it was provided that the English Church should be free, and that there should be liberty of elections.[5] After 1215 abbots were not chosen from other houses.

In accordance with the constitution of the Order of Cluny, the priors were nominated by the heads of the mother-house, from which the first monks had been sent, and, therefore, the prior of La Charité nominated the priors of Wenlock, Bermondsey, Northampton, Pontefract, and until 1231 Daventry, when it slipped out of the Order.[6] On several occasions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the prior of Wenlock, as head of the eldest daughter-house of La Charité in England, received a commission to act as vicar-general for the prior of La Charité, and nominated priors to other houses.

The succession of the priors of Bermondsey was the difficulty which first led me to a critical examination of the Annals. The diligent antiquary, William Cole (1714–82), whose manuscripts are in the British Museum, commented on the list of priors ' of whom twenty died in thirty-eight years, nor the like in any other religious house.' [7] The

[1] *De Antiquis Legibus Liber*, ed. T. Stapleton, p. vi, Camden Society.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, iv 183–185.
[4] St. Ouen in 1157, Roger, ' *Vir summe religionis*,' Gallia Christiana, xi 155 ; Evesham in 1160, Adam, *V.C.H., Worcester*, ii 127 ; Abingdon in 1176, Roger, *V.C.H., Berks*, ii 61 ; Faversham in 1178, Guerric, *V.C.H., Kent*, ii 141 ; Glastonbury in 1189, Henry de Sully, *V.C.H., Somerset*, ii 88.
[5] *Select Charters*, ed. W. Stubbs, pp. 296, 297 (ed. 1890).
[6] *Diocesis Lincolniensis Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend*, p. xxxiii, note 1. (Canterbury and York Society.)
[7] MS. Cole, 5829, fo. 71 (British Museum). *Dictionary of National Biography*, xi 278.

remarkable list is printed in the 'Victoria County History,'[1] and though, in a few instances, discrepancies between the Annals and records are noted, the explanations are lame, and it is even suggested that the singular mortality among the priors was caused by the damp and unhealthy situation of the monastery. A searching examination reveals the truth that the monk who compiled the Annals had no sense of chronology, and was thoroughly confused by the materials before him. He did not understand the regnal years of the kings, and often recorded the death of a prior who is known from other sources to have been promoted to Northampton, Wenlock, or Lewes.

Throughout the thirteenth century all the priors of the English houses were bound to go to Cluny, once in two years, to attend the general chapter, which met on the third Sunday after Easter, and the prior of Bermondsey was also under an obligation to attend a general chapter at La Charité. A yearly payment was due to the mother-house, £5 from Lewes to Cluny, £5 from Wenlock to La Charité, and probably the same sum from Bermondsey. In the thirteenth century the popes gave the abbots of Cluny the power of levying occasional special subsidies, and about 1238 the prior of Aulnoy, in the diocese of Meaux, was sent to England to demand for Cluny a tenth of the revenues of all the houses for three years.[2] On Palm Sunday, 1238, the subprior and convent of Bermondsey sealed a letter for the prior to take with him to the general chapter which met on the third Sunday after Easter, beseeching the abbot to have mercy on their poor house. The abbot had been in England on a visitation in 1237,[3] and they wrote: 'You know the grave dangers to which we are exposed. Moreover, we have lately been burdened with fresh taxes due to the king, with the exactions of the papal legate, Otho, and with heavy expenses of hospitality which we cannot reduce without scandal or commotion, since our house is set as a gazingstock to the king and the kingdom.'[4] On the same occasion the prior and convent of Northampton

[1] *V.C.H., Surrey*, ii 68, 69, 70, note, 13, 75, 76.
[2] *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, ed. Bernard et Bruel, vi 259.
[3] Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, tract ii, sect. vi, p. 62.
[4] *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, vi 259.

respectfully reminded the abbot of Cluny that the daughter-houses of La Charité were in no way bound to help Cluny in financial difficulties.[1] As the monastery was only half a mile off the main road from London to Dover, it is easy to understand the demands for hospitality. The prior and convent were bound to lodge the Earl of Gloucester and his heirs whenever they came to Bermondsey.[2] In 1249 the general chapter of the Benedictines of the province of Canterbury met at Bermondsey.[3] On April 22, 1250, there was a great assembly of crusaders at Bermondsey.[4] In 1258 the bishop of Carlisle was consecrated in the priory church by the bishops of Salisbury and Bath.[5]

Visitors were appointed by the general chapter of Cluny to visit the English province and some of their reports survive. At Bermondsey, in 1262, they noted that there were thirty-two monks and one lay brother, the service of God in the church was very well rendered, the rule of silence was observed and discipline was good; almsgiving and hospitality were according to custom. There was a debt of £177 6*s.* 8*d.*[6] Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the prior and convent resisted the papal mandate of Alexander IV, confirmed by Urban IV, to pay £10 a year for life to a layman, Gregory of London, a gold embroiderer of the papal household.[7] The popes' affection for the famous Opus Anglicanum is well known. It was usual for them to charge a monastery with an annual payment to a clerk until the monks provided him with a benefice, but such a payment to a layman was extraordinary. The dean of St. Paul's put the monastery under an interdict, and three months later he excommunicated the prior, subprior, cellarer, sacrist and convent. Whether Gregory obtained any payment is doubtful, for in 1260 Henry III inhibited the dean of St. Paul's from further action.[8] In 1263 another papal mandate was issued

[1] *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, vi 258.
[2] *Cal. of Inquisitions post mortem*, ix 6.
[3] *Flores Historiarum*, ed. Luard, ii 361. (Rolls Series.)
[4] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, v 102. (Rolls Series.)
[5] *Ibid.* v. 678.
[6] G. F. Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluny*, ii 123, 124.
[7] *Registres de Urban IV*, ed. Guiraud, i p. 452, No. 957, 'Qui parat aurifrixia domini pape.'
[8] Rot. Claus., 44 Henry III, pt. i, m. 12d.

condemning the convent to pay the costs of Gregory's suit at the papal court in their contumacious absence, and to remain under sentence of excommunication until they had made full satisfaction.

A few years later Prior John was caught in the toils of the most notorious moneylender of the age who became enormously rich by fraud, Adam of Stratton, who flourished from 1265 to 1290.[1] He was clerk of the works at Westminster and chamberlain of the exchequer. It is uncertain when the prior of Bermondsey first became acquainted with him, but the story can be traced in scattered documents from 1271; the difficulties were the result of speculations in land with the object of increasing the income of the monastery.

In 1271 Prior John sold the manor of Upton in Berkshire to Adam of Stratton for five hundred marks (£333 6*s.* 8*d.*), and he requested Adam to pay the money to Sir William de Apeldorefeld, who had sold the manor of Chalk in Kent to the prior.[2] In 1272 there is an entry on the back of the Chancery Roll of Letters Close of two bonds, both purporting to have been given by the prior and convent to Adam of Stratton, both dated in their chapter-house on the Sunday after the feast of St. Mark. In the first bond the prior and convent pledged themselves and their successors to pay to Adam of Stratton, his heirs and assignees £40 a year in perpetuity fifteen days after Easter, beginning in 1272, and should they default £1 a day was added to the total, and Adam and his heirs and assignees had the right of entering any of their manors and of distraining on their property to recover the money, and the prior and convent renounced the right of appealing to the king or to the law for help.[3] In the second bond the prior and convent acknowledged a loan of seven hundred marks for grave and serious business which Adam of Stratton had borrowed on their behalf from different merchants, and they pledged themselves to repay the money at the rate of a hundred marks a year beginning on July 8, 1272.[4] If the

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography*, lv. 37. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hubert Hall, iii, pp. cccxv–cccxxx.
[2] Ancient Deed, AS 397. (Public Record Office.)
[3] Rot. Claus., 55 Hen. III, m. 6d. [4] *Ibid.* m. 6d.

money was not paid in full, they agreed to pay interest at the rate of fifty per cent., and gave Adam, his heirs and assignees the power of distraining on all their property and goods, moveable and immoveable, ecclesiastical and mundane, and they renounced all help from canon or civil law and from any papal privilege. These bonds were so cleverly drawn by the moneylender that there appeared to be no escape. There was another transaction in 1272. Adam of Stratton advanced a hundred marks to enable the prior and convent to purchase the manor of Beningho in Hertfordshire, which they rented from Sir Richard de Thany for £12 a year.[1] Adam was prepared to pay four hundred marks for the manor, and the prior agreed to hand it over as soon as he got possession, and as security for the loan of a hundred marks, he pledged the manor of Widford to Adam. Sir Lucas de Thany, who had succeeded Sir Richard, declined to give possession, and turned the prior and Adam off the manor when they arrived to take it. Adam forced the prior to sell the manor back to Sir Lucas for five hundred marks, which Adam received and held on account of the debt of seven hundred marks, and he also kept the manor of Widford.

For the first three years the prior and convent paid the hundred marks on the second bond dated Palm Sunday, 1272, but in the fourth year they defaulted, and Adam extorted another bond promising to pay him and his heirs £100 a year in perpetuity.[2] Some years later the capital debt amounted to fifteen hundred marks, and Adam seized the crops on the manors. The monks complained that they could neither eat nor drink without the leave of Adam. Prior Henry crossed the sea in search of Edward I, in Gascony, to tell him of the distress of the monastery; he had no money for the journey, and before Adam would lend him a hundred and sixty marks he extorted a deed by which three more manors were assigned to him and his heirs as security.[3]

The serious state of affairs was reported by the visitors to the general chapter of Cluny;[4] in 1277 the abbot came

[1] Exchequer, Parliament and Council, Roll 2. (Public Record Office.)
[2] *Ibid.* Roll 2. [3] *Ibid.* Roll 2.
[4] Duckett, *Charters and Records*, ii 125.

to England and held a provincial chapter at Bermondsey at which he promulgated a series of statutes against alienation of property.[1] In 1279, when the visitors were again at Bermondsey, the number of monks had been reduced, as the abbot of Cluny had ordered, but the debt had increased to two thousand three hundred marks.[2] In 1288 Edward I wrote from Bordeaux under his privy seal to his cousin, Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, instructing him to stay execution against Bermondsey until his return; he had heard that Adam of Stratton had got half the substance of the prior and convent, and was demanding a capital sum of £6000 from them.[3] On one occasion a chalice of fine gold, which cost £40, a gift from Henry III for use at masses for the souls of his ancestors, was pledged for eight marks, and Adam refused to give it up when the next prior wanted to redeem it. Is it possible that Adam was responsible for the robbery in 1284, when, according to the official record, several persons broke open the doors of the prior's lodging, forced cupboards and chests, took away £68 in money, silver vessels and gold jewels and other goods and chattels to the value of £40?[4] The figures suggest a distraint for the £100 a year pledged to Adam, his heirs and assignees.

Edward I intervened to protect the monastery from the results of Prior John's dealings with the moneylender. Adam of Stratton was one of the chief culprits in the famous State Trials of 1289–93, when several of the principal judges were imprisoned and fined.[5] Adam was convicted of felony and forfeited the manors of which he had dispossessed Bermondsey, and Edward I restored them to the monastery.[6]

Bartholomew Cotton, a contemporary monk of Norwich, observed that Adam was convicted of forging deeds, and explained that in the case of Bermondsey he had altered a grant for life to another for himself and his heirs by

[1] *Miscellanea novo ordine digesta et aucta*, ed. E. Baluze and J. D. Mansi, ii 246, 247, ed. 1761; Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, tract ii, sect. iv, pp. 62, 63.

[2] Duckett, *Charters and Records*, ii 131, 132.

[3] Exchequer, Parliament and Council, Roll 2.

[4] Rot. Pat. 12 Ed. I. m. 13d.

[5] *State Trials of Edward I*, ed. T. F. Tout and H. Johnstone. (Camden Society.)

[6] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1281–92, p. 338.

cleverly removing the seal of the prior and convent from the first deed and attaching it to the second.[1] In the petition of the prior and convent for redress in 1290, they stated that Adam came in and out of the monastery at his pleasure, and, through the negligence of the priors, he had access to their seal.[2]

Prior John, who had first involved Bermondsey in the moneylender's toils, was promoted by the prior of La Charité, first to Northampton and then to Wenlock.[3] Both houses got into debt with Adam of Stratton, and in 1279 the visitors reported to the general chapter of Cluny as follows: 'No intelligent person can doubt that Wenlock will suffer seriously and get into as great or even greater confusion than Bermondsey and Northampton if he stays there long; he sells and alienates whatever he can. The general report is that he is ambitious, and is trying to get elected to Rochester and to escape from Cluniac control.' It is almost incredible that in 1285 this Prior John was promoted to Lewes,[4] but it is not surprising that in a few years that monastery had enormous debts to Italian merchants.[5]

Owing to its low-lying situation, Bermondsey suffered severely from floods. In 1294, on October 18, there was a tremendous inundation when the Thames waters rushed through a great breach in the embankment at Rotherhithe, and much damage was done.[6] For two years the monastery was in the custody of clerks appointed by Edward I, who were instructed to receive the revenues, and provide for the monks and repair the breach at Rotherhithe. In 1300, in compassion for their heavy losses from the inundations, the bishop of Winchester sanctioned the appropriation by the prior and convent of the parish church of Chelsham, by which they secured the greater part of the tithes to devote to hospitality and almsgiving.[7]

[1] Bartholomew Cotton, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. R. Luard, p. 180. (Rolls Series.)
[2] Exchequer, Parliament and Council, Roll 2. (P. R. O.)
[3] Duckett, *Charters and Records*, ii 133, 137–9.
[4] Exchequer, Parliament and Council, Roll 2. (P. R. O.)
[5] Duckett, *Charters and Records*, ii 249, 267.
[6] *Flores Historiarum*, iii 93. (Rolls Series.)
[7] *Episcopal Registers of Winchester*, J. de Pontissara, i 96. (Canterbury and York Society.)

The financial difficulties of Bermondsey drew the king's attention to the unfortunate nominations of the priors of La Charité, and subsequently on several occasions Edward I and Edward II wrote letters to influence the appointments.[1] In consequence, three priors of Bermondsey were countrymen or kinsfolk of Sir Otho de Grandison, who came to England with his uncle, Peter of Savoy, in 1258, and became Edward I's faithful friend and servant until the king's death.[2] These priors were Henry de Bonvillars, Peter de St. Saphorin, and John de Cusance, whose family came from a little town in the Jura Mountains (dep. Doubs).[3]

The first rift in the friendly relations between the Crown and Cluny occurred in 1289 when Edward I forbade the priors and monks of the English houses to make payments of any kind to the abbot of Cluny until further order.[4] In 1295 Philip, King of France, invaded Aquitaine, and Edward I seized the temporalities of the alien priories, *i.e.* of all houses dependent on a foreign superior and making payments to him.[5] The Crown officials received the revenues and provided a bare maintenance for the monks and their servants. The growth of national feeling against foreign superiors of English monasteries was shewn at the parliament of Carlisle in 1307.[6] It was then provided by statute that monks should send no tax across the seas, and that foreign superiors might come to England to exercise their right of visitation on condition that they carried nothing out of the country except a reasonable sum for expenses.

The methods of procedure against alien priories, which had been devised by Edward I, were used throughout the fourteenth century, whenever England was at war with France. When Edward II seized the alien priories in 1324, Bermondsey escaped, nominally on the ground that Prior

[1] E.g. Rot. Claus. 3 Ed. II, m. 6; 14 Ed. II, m. 9d.
[2] C. L. Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison,' *Royal Hist. Soc. Transactions* (Third Series), iii 125–195.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 179, 181, 187.
[4] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1281–92, p. 322.
[5] *Cal. of Fine Rolls*, i 362–364; *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1288–96, pp. 460, 469, 470; *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1292–1301, p. 176.
[6] *Statutes of the Realm*, i 150–152.

John de Cusance [1] was a native of the county of Burgundy, not of France, and in reality through the influence of his brother, William de Cusance, who had a long official career.[2]

In the early years of the fourteenth century there is evidence of considerable friction between French and English monks, and notably in the following petition, which was presented to Edward III at the parliament of Winchester in 1330.[3] Many of the monks complained that their houses were badly ruled in spiritual and temporal affairs to the great disgrace of the king and the great loss of the monks, and they asked for a remedy for the evil. In houses founded for thirty or forty monks there was not a third part of the number, as for instance at Bermondsey and Montacute, and likewise in all other houses. The priors made gifts out of the sustenance of the monks, and sent stores out of the kingdom. The priories were not subject to visitation by bishops or by anyone of the English nation. The monks had not the right of electing their prior which, in their opinion, was contrary to the Rule of St. Benedict. The priors were ignorant of spiritual things and frequently collected money and sent it out of the country. When any of the monks urged reforms, the priors sent them away on foot to cells at a distance of a hundred leagues with very little money for their expenses. Not twenty of the English monks had made their profession at Cluny; some had been forty years in the Order before they were professed, and others never made their profession. Frenchmen ruled over them everywhere, as though by hereditary right, though they were few in number and their deeds were evil, and the English were subject to them, though their deeds were good. The two nations would never agree in the same house. They referred to an earlier parliament in which it had been urged that the prior of Lewes ought to be an abbot, and receive the profession of English monks, and hear disputes and give judgement to avoid the necessity of crossing the seas. On the back of

[1] Ministers' Accounts, Bundle 1127 No. 18 m. 6 (P. R. O.) Priory of St. James, Derby.

[2] *R. Hist. Soc. Transactions* (Third Series), iii 182.

[3] C. Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, Appendix pt. iii, No. lxviii, p. 147.

the petition it was noted that heads of houses which were of the king's patronage should be warned to reform this state of affairs.

The records have yielded singularly little information about the buildings of the monastery. In the twelfth century Bermondsey Priory was prosperous and had wealthy benefactors. Fine capitals and mouldings of that century were found when the site was cleared in 1805,[1] but there is no note of any dedication until 1206; on June 9, according to the Annals, Bernard, bishop of Carlisle, translated the body of Petreius, the first prior of the house, and two days afterwards, on the feast of St. Barnabas, he dedicated the altar in the choir in honour of the Virgin Mary and All Saints.[2] There was a famous Rood in the priory church. In every monastery to which pilgrims came to worship a record was kept of some of the miracles which were said to have occurred. In 1433 the monk of Bermondsey recorded that William, Count of Mortain, imprisoned in the Tower of London since 1106 by Henry I after the battle of Tenchebrai, in which he fought on the side of Robert, Duke of Normandy, was released in 1118 by a miracle, through the virtue of the Holy Rood.[3] The compiler of the Annals made the entry in 1118, and accordingly he noted that in 1117 the Rood of St. Saviour was found 'near the Thames.'[4] The study of other legends of miraculous Roods[5] warrants a sceptical attitude

[1] R. Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata*, vol. i., plate 53 (1819–25); *British Archaeological Association Journal* (New Series), vol. xxxii, Pt. ii (1926), plate xiii, p. 221, note.

[2] *Annales Monastici*, iii 450. (Rolls Series.)

[3] *Ibid.* p. 432. This release is very doubtful. In the solitary Pipe Roll for the reign of Henry I, for 1130, the cost of feeding, clothing, and guarding the Count of Mortain in the Tower of London is recorded, *cf.* Harold Sands, 'A Link in the early history of London,' *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, 1925, pt. I, p. 13. He may have been released by King Stephen, for he became a monk of Bermondsey in 1142, *Annales Monastici*, iii 436; in 1140, according to the more reliable Annals of Lewes, MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. x, fo. 163.

[4] *Annales Monastici*, iii p. 432.

[5] Père H. Delehaye, S.J., *Les Légendes hagiographiques*, p. 35:—'Rien de plus banal dans l'hagiographie populaire que ce thème de l'arrivée miraculeuse d'une image ou d'un corps saint dans un navire abandonné, rien de plus ordinaire ainsi que le prodige du vaisseau qui s'arrête, ou des bœufs qui refusent d'avancer pour désigner l'endroit mystérieusement prédestinée à la garde de quelque trésor céleste ou pour assurer à une église la légitime possession des reliques d'un saint.'

towards the finding of the Rood of Bermondsey 'near the Thames' in the year before the Annalist recorded the first miracle. I venture to think that in the fifteenth century all memory of the origin of the Rood had passed away, and the statement was a fiction. Is it possible that the Rood of Bermondsey was a copy of the famous Rood of Lucca? The legend is that Nicodemus carved it of the wood of a cedar of Lebanon, and while he slept the face was carved by our Saviour and the angels; according to one version it came ashore on the coast of Tuscany in 782 (?) in a boat without passengers or pilot, and was set on a cart and drawn by oxen who halted at Lucca.[1] The city was on the direct road to Rome for pilgrims who crossed the Alps by the Mont Cenis, and left the Via Emilia before Parma to cross the Apennines by the Col de la Cisa.[2] The Rood of Lucca in the cathedral church of St. Martin had a great attraction for pilgrims; it was called the Santo Volto, the Holy Face. At the present day it is in a Renaissance chapel in the north aisle of the cathedral church of St. Martin, veiled except on the feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross, Good Friday, and on the last Friday in November,[3] when the cathedral is thronged with worshippers. The Santo Volto is a Syrian conception of the Crucifixion in which our Lord has a beard and wears a long tunic, with sleeves, the arms are stretched straight, and the feet are nailed separately; it is larger than life size and, apart from its age, it is remarkable and impressive. Copies and imitations of the Rood of Lucca were set up in churches in France, of which a few still survive, and in Spain.[4] The Rood, now headless, on the east wall of the south porch of Langford in Oxfordshire,[5] is identified by

[1] E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du douzième siècle en France*, pp. 253–256.

[2] J. Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques*, ii 151, 152, 221–229.

[3] J. Ross and N. Erichsen, *The Story of Lucca*, p. 5.

[4] J. Folch y Torres, *Museo de la Ciudadela, Catalogo de la Sección de Arte Románico*, pp. 62, 66. 1926. I am indebted to Mr. A. W. Clapham, F.S.A., for this reference.

[5] Illustration in E. S. Prior and A. Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, p. 132. This Langford Rood has lately been examined by Mr. A. W. Clapham, F.S.A., and he has pointed out to me that Monsieur Mâle's identification of this Rood as a copy of the Rood of Lucca is doubtful for several reasons, the axial position of the neck, the absence of a beard, and the inset of the cross arms of the cross, a Saxon feature which is unknown in twelfth-century work.

Monsieur Emile Mâle as a representation of the Santo Volto. 'By the Saint Vou' was the usual oath of William Rufus,[1] and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the Rood of Bermondsey, like the Rood of Amiens,[2] was a copy or an imitation of the Rood of Lucca. At the time of the foundation of the monastery the dedication of St. Saviour was comparatively rare.

Merchants of Lucca were established in London in the thirteenth century. As in other cities in which they formed a colony, they became an organized community with their own statutes, and subsequently they founded a chapel and a confraternity of the Rood of Lucca.[3] In the fifteenth century, if not earlier, their chapel was in the church of the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, Cheapside. In 1434 this chapel is mentioned in the will of Robert FitzRobert, citizen and grocer of London, 'videlicet in capella sancte crucis anglice dict' the Roode of Lukes.'[4] In 1481 Giovanni Diversi, probably a merchant of Lucca, made a provision in his will, now at Lucca, that he should be buried in the chapel dedicated in honour of the Santo Volto in the church of St. Thomas in London.[5] He is known to have been buried in the church of St. Thomas of Acon.[6]

In 1234 King Henry III, with his usual generosity, ordered ten oaks from the royal forest of Essex to be given to the prior of Bermondsey for the new chapel of the Rood which he was building.[7] The oaks would be used in constructing the roof, and both capitals and bases of that date have been found on the site of the monastery.[8] There had been an immense concourse of pilgrims at Canterbury in 1220, on the occasion of the translation of the martyred archbishop, St. Thomas,[9] and the pilgrimage of St. Thomas

[1] E. A. Freeman, *The Reign of William Rufus*, i 108, 112, 164, 289, ii 503.

[2] E. Soyez, *La Croix et le Crucifix*, plate i, pp. 99–105.

[3] L. Mirot, 'La Colonie Lucquoise à Paris,' *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, lxxxviii 55, 67.

[4] Hustings Roll 174 (7). (Guildhall of London Archives.)

[5] D. Barsocchini, *Ragionamento sopra il Volto Santo di Lucca*, p. 25, note 5. (1844.)

[6] MS. Harl. 6069, fol. 30. (British Museum.)

[7] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1231–34, p. 409.

[8] Cf. *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxviii, plate facing p. 977 No. (1).

[9] C. E. Woodruff and W. Danks, *Memorials of the Cathedral and Priory of Canterbury*, pp. 75, 76.

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THE ROOD OF LUCCA

of Canterbury had a European reputation.[1] Many pilgrims, who passed through London on their way to and from Canterbury, would turn off the Dover road to worship the Rood, and claim the hospitality or alms of the monastery. A larger chapel for the Rood was a necessity. It is possible to conjecture that an eastward extension of the choir of the Norman church was planned, but no progress was made, owing to entanglements with the moneylender, Adam of Stratton. In the petition of the prior and convent to Edward I in 1290 it was nowhere stated that money had been spent on building.

In 1287, however, there was a fabric fund, for in that year John le Romeyn, archbishop of York, made some stay in the monastery on his way back from Rome after his consecration, and the archbishop of Canterbury at once revived the dispute as to the right of the archbishop of York to carry his cross erect in the province of Canterbury. On April 18, 1287, the archbishop of York granted an indulgence of forty days to all persons in his diocese, and other dioceses in which his indulgences were recognized, who came to pray in the church of St. Saviour of Bermondsey, and to adore the venerable cross set up on high therein, or who made contributions to the fabric fund of the church.[2] On hearing that the archbishop of York was staying at Bermondsey Priory, the archbishop of Canterbury issued stringent orders to prevent anyone going to that house, even on pilgrimage.[3]

The great inundation in 1294 brought heavy losses to the monastery,[4] and in 1299 the visitors reported to the general chapter of Cluny that the buildings of the monastery were in a bad way.[5]

Prior John de Cusance had rich and powerful friends, for his brother, William de Cusance, who held various preferments, had a long official career in the service of the Crown.[6] Within a few years after John de Cusance became

[1] E. van Cauwenberg, *Les Pèlerinages expiatoires*, pp. 143, 223.
[2] *Register of Archbishop John le Romeyn*, ed. W. Brown, i 11 (Surtees Society); *Letters from Northern Registers*, ed. J. Raine, pp. 82–84. (Rolls Series.)
[3] *Register of John le Romeyn*, vol. ii, p. xii. [4] *Cf.* p. 105.
[5] *Visitations and Chapters General of Cluny*, ed. G. Duckett, p. 259.
[6] *R. Hist. Soc. Transactions* (Third Series), iii 182.

prior in 1324, the choir and eastern chapels were dedicated by Peter, bishop of Corbau, who had been driven out of Hungary by the Turkish invasions. He was a Franciscan friar and was in England from 1320 to 1332, and acted as a suffragan bishop in the dioceses of Canterbury, London, and Winchester.[1] He died in January 1332 and was buried in the choir of the Grey Friars in London. The Annalist of Bermondsey, with his usual carelessness, entered this important dedication in 1338, six years after the death of the bishop, in these words: 'The greater church of St. Saviour and the greater altar in honour of St. Saviour and of the Blessed Virgin Mary and All Saints were dedicated by Peter, Bishop of Corbau, on January 11, and a week later on the octave, three altars were dedicated by the same bishop, the altar of the Rood in honour of the same, and Drueth altar in honour of the Blessed Mary and St. Thomas the Martyr, and also the altar which is next the door of the monks' cemetery in honour of St. Andrew and St. James, and all the Apostles.'[2] The Drueth altar is a puzzle, and the word is written very clearly in the manuscript and without a capital letter. A lease of 1362 suggests a solution. The prior and convent granted to Thomas de Pykenham, citizen and merchant of London, and John, son of Robert de Pykenham, the whole of the marsh called Druettesmarsh, with all the houses situated in the said marsh; and all their lands in a marsh called Priestesmarsh which Thomas de Abyndon formerly held for life in the parish of Rotherhithe.[3] It may be conjectured, on the evidence of this document, that the land and houses in Druettesmarsh were the principal part of the separate endowment of the chapel of St. Mary, of which the altar was therefore called Drueth altar.

When the Hundred Years War began in 1337 all the

[1] *The Grey Friars of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, p. 72, note 8 (British Society of Franciscan Studies); *Annales Paulini*, ed. W. Stubbs, p. 340. (Rolls Series.) *Episcopal Registers of Winchester, J. de Sandale and R. de Asserio*, ed. F. J. Baigent, p. 420. (Hampshire Record Society.)

[2] *Annales Monastici*, iii 473, *cf.* A. R. Martin, 'The Topography of the Cluniac Abbey of St. Saviour at Bermondsey,' *British Archæological Association Journal* (New Series), xxxii 211, 212, and the plan facing p. 192.

[3] 'Ancient Deeds A. 8042.' (Public Record Office.) The modern Druid Street and Druid Place between Mill Street and Neckinger Street probably mark the site of Druettesmarsh and its houses.

Cluniac priories were seized into the king's hands. The prior and convent usually purchased the right of retaining the custody of their house for a sum of money down and a large yearly payment to the exchequer. The prior and convent of Bermondsey paid £10 as a fine, and the yearly payment to the exchequer was fixed at £100, £50 for each half year, a crushing imposition.[1] In 1338 another inundation of the Thames did great damage, and a respite of payment was granted.[2] A study of the entries on the Patent and Close Rolls illustrates the struggle to find the money for the exchequer; in 1342 the amount was reduced from £100 to £50 a year.[3] Manors were let to persons for their lives at low rents for money paid down.[4] Debts were incurred to others: in 1341 the monks owed £26 13*s.* 4*d.* to John Royce, fishmonger of London;[5] in 1342, £500 to Walter Heel, citizen of London;[6] in 1346, £60 to Sir Richard de Willoughby;[7] in 1347, £200 to William de Osberton, clerk;[8] in 1350, £40 to Robert de Guildford, of London, draper;[9] in 1355, £100 to Edmund de Acre, clerk;[10] in 1356, £100 to Sir John de Cobham.[11]

Even at the outbreak of war with France, the majority of the Bermondsey monks were Englishmen, and several wills proved in the Court of Hustings shew the interest of the citizens of London in the monastery. John de Evere, a monk of Bermondsey, was executor with Richard de Bedford, a skinner, of the will of his father, Roger de Evere, an ironmonger, in 1337.[12] Under it he received an annuity of £4 a year, from rents and tenements in the city, which passed to the monastery on his death for the keeping of the family anniversaries. The wealthy vintner, John of Oxford, left the prior and convent a pipe of red wine at £1 10*s.*, to remember him and his family and all the faithful departed.[13] In a will dated April 2, 1349, Matilda de Myms

[1] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1333–37, p. 182.
[2] *Ibid.* 1337–39, p. 389.
[3] *Cal. of Fine Rolls*, v 277.
[4] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1345–48, p. 193.
[5] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1341–43, p. 336.
[6] *Ibid.* 1341–43, p. 501.
[7] *Ibid.* 1346–49, p. 154.
[8] *Ibid.* 1346–49, p. 405.
[9] *Ibid.* 1349–54, p. 209.
[10] *Ibid.* 1354–60, p. 208.
[11] *Ibid.* 1354–60, p. 328.
[12] Hustings Roll 62 (14). (Guildhall of London Archives.) I am indebted to Mr. R. E. Thomas for kindly giving me access to these Rolls.
[13] Hustings Roll 69 (93).

left to her apprentice, William, the third best part of the copies and instruments pertaining to the craft of pictures, and one of the best chests in which to keep them. The said apprentice was to be transferred to the guardianship and teaching of brother Thomas of Alsham, of Bermondsey priory, for three years.[1] This unusual provision suggests that the monk had a reputation outside the monastery for his artistic skill.

There was peace for a few years after the treaty of Bretigny in 1360, but when war broke out again the national feeling against French monks was very bitter. The commons petitioned in parliament in 1376 that foreign superiors should appoint vicars-general in England, so that Englishmen should become priors and that monks in Cluniac houses should be Englishmen and all French monks banished.[2] The petition was marked as nothing done, but it had some effect, for the new priors of the most important Cluniac houses were Englishmen. In 1374 Edward III approved of the appointment by the prior of La Charité of the first English prior of Bermondsey, Richard Downton, who ruled the monastery for sixteen years.[3] His first important step was to secure a charter of denization from Richard II in 1381, by which the monastery was released from the difficulties and burdens of an alien status. In the petition sent to the king's uncle and regent, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, it was urged that owing to the neglect and misgovernment of foreign priors the monastery was heavily charged with corrodies and other burdens, the buildings were in a tumbledown condition, and there was a great diminution in the rent roll.[4] In the letters patent granting the petition it was specified that the change of status from an alien to an English house was on condition that the prior and the majority of the monks were English-born; and a fine of two hundred marks was paid to the exchequer.[5] The compiler of the Annals entered the grant

[1] Hustings Roll *76* (313).
[2] *Rotuli Parliamentorum* ii 342, 343. (Record Commission.)
[3] *Annales Monastici*, iii 478. (Rolls Series.)
[4] Ancient Petitions, 4628. (Public Record Office.)
[5] Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, Appendix, pt. iii. No. lxvii.

of denization in the wrong year with the wrong date of the month.[1] He was then narrating events which happened only fifty years before his time, but even so, his statements must be accepted with caution. He noted that in the same year as Prior Richard secured the denization charter he rebuilt the cloister and the refectory. Is it not more probable that the work was begun in that year? In 1387, according to the Annals, Prior Richard covered the roof of the nave of the priory church with lead,[2] and this statement suggests the completion of the nave. The choir and its eastern extension had been dedicated by Peter, bishop of Corbau; the heavy taxation during the long wars with France would account for the delay. At the same time, Prior Richard put new windows into the presbytery, and gilded retables at the high altar and the altar in the choir. The priory church was then probably finished as it stood until the surrender of the monastery in 1538. A new roof of slate was put on the cloister in 1430.[3]

During the papal schism from 1378 to 1409, when France recognized the pope at Avignon, and England the pope at Rome, relations between the English province of the Order of Cluny and the mother-houses were broken off completely.[4] In 1399 the priory of Bermondsey was created an abbey by Pope Boniface IX at the request of Richard II, acting as 'patron and founder' of the monastery. According to this bull, the monks secured the right of electing their abbot after applying to the king as patron for the usual *congé d'élire*.[5] When they had elected their abbot they notified the king, who gave his assent, and directed the archbishop of Canterbury to scrutinize the proceedings and confirm the election if all was in order. The prior of La Charité was thereby deprived of his right to nominate or confirm the abbot of Bermondsey. In the same bull the abbot of Bermondsey was granted in perpetuity the right to use the mitre, ring, pastoral staff, tunic and dalmatic, and also to give solemn benediction at Mass and at table,

[1] *Annales Monastici*, iii 480. (Rolls Series.)
[2] *Ibid.* p. 481. [3] *Ibid.* p. 487.
[4] *Ante*, pp. 46, 61; Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Arundel, fo. 399; Episcopal Registers of Exeter, Stafford, ii fo. 39.
[5] *Ante*, p. 56.

except in the presence of a papal legate or of a bishop.[1] The arms of the monastery received an addition to mark the change of status. They had been : per pale gules and azure, a bordure argent ; after 1399 over all there was a lion passant gardant holding a pastoral staff enfiled with a mitre or, and the bordure was charged with eight letters B sable.[2]

The abbots of Cluny and the priors of La Charité failed signally to recover rights over Bermondsey in the fifteenth century.[3]

A few wills and other sources illustrate the popular devotion to the Rood of Bermondsey. In 1428 William Kelshull, citizen and fishmonger of London, left his body to be buried in the chapel of St. Cross and £2 to the abbot and monks ;[4] there he was buried in 1432, under a marble slab, and three years later his widow, Alice Kelshull, died, leaving them £1 to be buried beside him.[5] In 1504 John Wippill, a clerk, made a will leaving his body to be buried before the image of St. Saviour, and £1 for the burial, and to William Church, a monk of Bermondsey and witness of the will, his book called *Distinctorum Virorum* to pray for his soul.[6] On Holy Rood Day, September 14, 1465, John Paston wrote from Norwich to his wife Margaret : ' I pray you visit the Rood of North Door,[7] and St. Saviour at Bermondsey, while you abide in London, and let my sister go with you to pray to them that she may have a good husband ere she come home again.'[8] There is other

[1] No complete transcript of this bull survives, and this extra detail is entered in a Precedent Book, Q3, fol. 18, in the Diocesan Registry of Rochester. I am indebted to Miss Irene Churchill for this reference, and to Mr. Francis Day, F.S.A., for the privilege of access to the Precedent Book.

[2] J. Woodward, *Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, p. 356 ; R. Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata*, vol. i, plate 55.

[3] *Ante*, pp. 62–87 ; Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluny*, vol. ii, pp. 53–8 ; *cf.* Rot. Pat. 20 Ed. IV, pt. 1, m. 3.

[4] Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 16 Luffenham, Somerset House.

[5] *Ibid.* 19 Luffenham. [6] *Ibid.* 18 Holgrave.

[7] In the cathedral church of St. Paul, ' Le Rode of le North Dore,' *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office*, vol. vi, C. 4698 ; ' capella crucifixi existenti super solium near Le Northdore,' *Ibid.* C. 5016. In a poem written about 1502, the Rood of North Door was said to be the work of St. Joseph of Arimathea, *cf.* J. Armitage Robinson, *Two Glastonbury Legends*, p. 45.

[8] *The Paston Letters*, ed. J. Gairdner, ii 233 (ed. 1895).

evidence of pilgrimages to the Rood of St. Saviour of Bermondsey, in the protests of two London Lollards. In 1509 Elizabeth Sampson, wife of John Sampson junior, of the parish of Aldermanbury, uttered damnable and heretical opinions against pilgrimages, including the image of St. Saviour of Bermondsey.[1] In 1511 Joan Baker, wife of Gervase Baker, of the parish of St. Margaret in Bridge Street, said to the parish priest that she was sorry she had gone on so many pilgrimages to St. Saviour's and divers other pilgrimages; she spoke against offerings to be made unto images, affirming that images in the church be set up of covetousness of priests and to make them rich.[2] If the offerings of pilgrims to the Rood had helped to build the priory church of Bermondsey, they had so fallen off that in 1535 they were worth only £3 6*s.* 8*d.* a year when the clear annual income of the monastery was £474.[3]

Two dowager queens were sent to spend the last months of their lives in the royal lodging in the outer court of the monastery, Catherine of Valois, who had married Owen Tudor after the death of Henry V, and died in 1437, and Elizabeth Woodville, widow of Edward IV,[4] who died in 1492. Anne Lady Audley was living in the close of Bermondsey in 1497, when she made her will providing for her burial in the Lady Chapel, and leaving to the high altar a vestment of blue satin with the underclothes, eightpence to every monk priest and fourpence to every novice.[5] The most interesting of the fifteenth-century wills was that of Margaret de la Pole, who died in 1473, and desired to be buried in the Lady Chapel on the left side of the altar; to which she left two vestments, a better and a worse, a chalice and two cruets of silver, a pax-brede silver and gilt, and an altar cloth of blue silk, with curtains belonging to it, a mass-book and a breviary of the use of Sarum.[6] To the

[1] *The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources*, ed. A. F. Pollard, p. 243. I am indebted to Miss E. Jeffries Davis for this and the following reference.

[2] E. J. Davis, 'The Case of Richard Hunne, 1514–15,' *English Historical Review*, xxx 486.

[3] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, ii 58–60.

[4] A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, iii 170, 361 (ed. 1845).

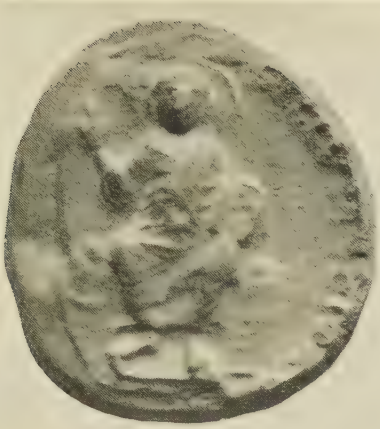
[5] Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 23 Horne, Somerset House.

[6] *Ibid.* 12 Wattys, Somerset House.

high altar she bequeathed a bason of silver, the border gilt with a rose and the sun gilt in the middle, two cruets of silver and a chair of cypress. These gifts Margaret de la Pole destined to be used and occupied to the worship and praising of God, and not to be taken away by any person. Probably they were among the spoils which fell to the Crown in 1538, when the abbot and monks surrendered the monastery. A few weeks later a citizen of London and the Windsor herald noted in their diaries [1] that the Rood of St. Saviour was taken down shortly afterwards. The priory church, in which generations of monks and pilgrims had worshipped the Rood, was destroyed to build a mansion for Sir Thomas Pope.[2]

[1] Wriothsley's *Chronicle*, i 77. *Royal Hist. Soc.* (Camden New Series), vol. xi; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xiii (i) 564, 580.

[2] For the history of the site after the dissolution, *cf.* A. R. Martin, 'The Topography of the Cluniac Abbey of St. Saviour at Bermondsey,' *British Archæological Association Journal* (New Series), vol. xxxii, pt. ii (1926), pp. 218–228, and plates vi–xii.



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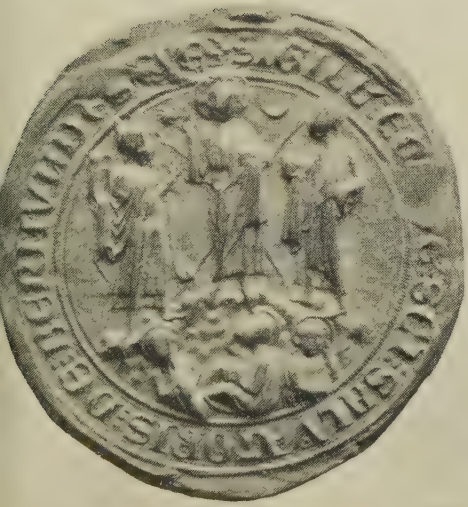

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6

SEALS OF BERMONDSEY

APPENDIX I

A Note on the Seals.[1]

The earliest known Seal of the monastery is attached to a grant made by Prior Constantine and the convent, *circa* 1184–6.[2] The colour is green, the shape round, and the original size 2⅛ inches; it is broken round the edge. The design is the Saviour sitting on a seat with an open book in his left hand, and his right hand raised in blessing. The legend is [SI]GILLVM SCI SAL[VATORIS]. (Plate viii, No. 1.)

The Seal of Prior John is attached to a grant made by the prior and convent to Adam of Stratton, dated 1271.[3] The colour is white, glazed, the shape pointed oval, and the size about 2 inches. The design is under a trefoil arch, the flight into Egypt; a servant with baggage on his shoulder leading the way; the Virgin and Child riding on an ass and St. Joseph bringing up the rear, with his left hand upraised; above the Virgin's head a star; under a niche or housing in the base the head of a figure now broken away, probably the prior. The legend is ✠ S' JO[HANNIS PRIORIS] DE B'MVNDESEYA. (No. 2.)

This subject, though a favourite with sculptors and glass-workers,[4] is very rare on a seal. The young man leading the ass is called Salomé in the Apocryphal Gospels.[5]

The Seal of Prior Henry is attached to a deed of the prior and convent, dated 1274.[6] The colour is white, varnished, the shape a pointed oval, and the size about 2 inches when whole. The design is the Saviour sitting on a seat under a trefoiled canopy with a book in his left hand and his right hand raised in blessing; on either side of the head a star and a crescent; under an arch in the base the head of a prior. The legend is

. . . ORIS S . . . [BE]RMUNDESE[YA]. (No. 3.)

[1] I wish to record my thanks to Mr. R. C. Fowler, F.S.A., for giving me access to the Card Catalogue of Seals at the Public Record Office; to Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, F.S.A., for having casts made of these seals in the special department at the Record Office, and to Mr. H. S. Kingsford for some help in describing the seals.

[2] Ancient Deed A S 396, Public Record Office.

[3] Ancient Deed A S 397, Public Record Office.

[4] E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*, pp. 258–262.

[5] Didron, *Christian Iconography*, ed. E. J. Millington and M. Stokes, ii 301, 302.

[6] Ancient Deed A S 324, Public Record Office.

The counter seal is glazed white, the shape round, the size ¾ inch. The design is the Virgin and Child seated on a throne. The legend is ✠ MATER DEI MEMENTO MEI. (No. 4.)

The Seal of the monastery is attached to a deed of the prior and convent, dated 1356.[1] The colour is bronze green, the shape round, the size about 2⅜ inches when whole. The design is the Transfiguration, the Saviour holding a book and standing on a mount between Moses represented with horns and holding a book, and Elias, also with a book; in the base the three Apostles; from the Saviour radiate four rays, and on either side of his head are a star and a crescent. The legend is SIGILL' ⁝ EC[CLI]E ⁝SCI ⁝ SALVATORIS ⁝ DE ⁝ BERMVNDESEYE.[2] (No. 5.)

The subject of the Transfiguration is rare on a seal; it occurs also on the thirteenth-century Seal of Faversham Abbey, but represented differently.[3] The fine representation on the tympanum of the twelfth century at the mother-house of La Charité may have suggested the subject. On the seal the horns on the head of Moses are very noticeable; they represent the rays of light from the face of Moses after his interview with God (Exodus xxxiv 29). They are shewn in an English Illuminated Psalter of the second half of the twelfth century,[4] and they were also found on a statue on the destroyed door of St. Benigne at Dijon, of the second half of the twelfth century. These two examples are the earliest known to Monsieur Mâle,[5] and he attributed the horns of Moses to the liturgical drama of the Prophets.

The counter seal is bronze green, the shape round, the size 1¼ inches. The design is a half-length figure of the Saviour blessing with his right hand and holding up the orb and cross in his left. The legend is ✠ EGO ⁝ SVM ⁝ VIA ⁝ VERITAS ⁝ ET ⁝ VITA ✠ (No. 6.)

A loose Seal of the monastery.[6] The colour is orange, the shape round, the size 3 inches. The design is the Saviour standing among clouds in glory between Moses represented with

[1] Ancient Deed B S 328; cf. *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1354–60, p. 378.

[2] The N. is reversed.

[3] *Victoria County History of Kent*, ii 141, plate facing p. 114.

[4] G. Warner, *Reproductions of Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 1903, plate 13, from MS. Lansdowne 383, fo. 15.

[5] E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, pp. 146, 147, 217.

[6] Loose seal H. 82, Public Record Office. This seal is also attached to an indenture for the foundation of Henry VII's chapel in the Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster; *cf.* Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata* (1819–25), vol. i, plate between pp. 110–113. In the casts made recently from the Westminster impression the lower portion of the border is missing, leaving the legend incomplete, clx, 11, 12 British Museum Seals.

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SEALS OF BERMONDSEY

horns and Elias; the field sown with stars and a sun dexter, a moon sinister above; in the base the three Apostles. The legend is Sigil[l]um comune monasterii Sancti Saluatoris de berm[u]ndesey. (Plate ix, No. 7.)

The counter Seal is orange, the shape round, the size 3⅛ inches. The design is the Saviour seated on a rainbow with his right hand raised in blessing, and holding up the orb and cross in his left; on either side an angel holding a shield of arms, dexter France modern and England, quarterly sinister England; the field sown with stars and a large sun dexter, a moon sinister; in the base an abbot with two monks on each side, the field foliaged. The legend is (℣)er uirtutem sancte crucis salua nos xre saluator. (No. 8.)

The counter seal is slightly larger than the seal, and may be dated about the end of the fifteenth century.

A fragment of seal No. 7 is attached to a deed of the prior and convent, dated 1429,[1] with, as a counter seal, a fragment of No. 6.

APPENDIX II

The following list of the Priors and Abbots of Bermondsey is compiled from records and sources independent of the Annals of Bermondsey. From 1089 to 1238 there are probably some gaps; from 1238 the list is consecutive, and it seldom agrees with the Annals of Bermondsey. The following entries [2] in these Annals illustrate the difficulty of accepting them as accurate:—1222. Obiit Gaufridus; successit Odilo; obiit Odilo; successit Hugo. Et in fine ejusdem anni obiit Hugo et successit Odilo; et sic fuerunt tres priores in uno anno. 1223. Obiit Odilo; cui successit Haymo. Obiit Haymo cui successit Hugo.

The list of the Priors from the Annals is printed in the 'Victoria County History of Surrey,' vol. ii, pp. 75–77; cf. *ante* p. 100.

PRIORS

Petreius, 1089,[3] died 1119.[4]
Walter, died 1134.[5]
Clarembald, 1134, promoted Abbot of Faversham 1147.[6]
Roger, promoted Abbot of St. Ouen 1157.[7]

[1] Harl. 44 A. 16. (British Museum.)
[2] *Annales Monastici*, iii 455.
[3] *Flores Historiarum*, ed. Luard, ii 21.
[4] *Ibid.* ii 47.
[5] Annals of Lewes, MS. Cotton Tiberius A. X., fo. 163.
[6] Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera*, i 138.
[7] *Gallia Christiana*, xi 155.

ADAM, promoted Abbot of Evesham 1160.[1]

ROGER, promoted Abbot of Abingdon 1175.[2]

ROBERT OF BELESME, occurs 1175.[3]

GUERRIC, promoted Abbot of Faversham 1178.[4]

CONSTANTINE, occurs after 1178 and before 1189.[5]

HENRY DE SULLY, promoted Abbot of Glastonbury 1189.[6]

HUGH, occurs in the following years: 4 John, 7, 10, 16,[7] and 19[8] Henry III.

GUICHARD, 1238,[9] nominated by Prior of La Charité; occurs 1240.[10]

IMBERT, occurs in the years 26, 32, 33, 34 Henry III,[11] *circa* 1242–1250.

AYMO DE MONTIBUS, 1252,[12] received seizin of temporalities; occurs 1259;[13] promoted Prior of Wenlock 1261.

GILBERT DE BUSSA, 1261,[14] nominated by Prior of La Charité.[15]

JOHN OF CHARTRES (*sic*), 1266, nominated by Prior of La Charité;[16] occurs 1271;[17] promoted Prior of Wenlock 1272;[18] Prior of Lewes 1285.[19]

HENRY DE MONTE MAURI, 1272,[20] nominated by Prior of La Charité.

PETER DE MONT ST. VINCENT, 1279,[21] nominated by Prior of La Charité.

HENRY DE BONVILLE, 1285 (May 1),[22] nominated by Prior of La Charité; promoted Prior of Wenlock, September 10, 1285.[23]

[1] *Chronicon abbatiæ de Evesham*, ed. W. D. Macray, p. 102, 'A Cluniac Monk of La Charité.' According to the Annals of Bermondsey he was promoted from Bermondsey to Evesham.

[2] Cf. *Victoria County History of Berkshire*, ii 61.

[3] MS. Cotton Claudius A. viii, fo. 118.

[4] Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera*, i 277 (Rolls Series).

[5] Ancient Deed A. 396, Public Record Office.

[6] *Victoria County History of Somerset*, ii 88.

[7] Surrey Feet of Fines, pp. 5, 12, 13, 18, *Surrey Archæological Society Collections*. Extra volume i.

[8] Essex Feet of Fines, i 100, *Essex Archæological Society Transactions*.

[9] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1232–47, p. 223.

[10] Bernard et Bruel, *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, vi 295.

[11] Surrey Feet of Fines, pp. 26, 28, 31, 32, 33.

[12] Rot. Claus., 36 Hen. III, m. 6.

[13] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1258–66, p. 14.

[14] *Ibid.* 1258–66, p. 171.

[15] *Ibid.* 1258–1266, p. 171.

[16] Rot. Pat., 50 Hen. III, m. 31.

[17] Ancient Deed A.S. 397. (Public Record Office.)

[18] Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluny*, ii 137–139.

[19] Exchequer, Parliament and Council, Roll 2. (Public Record Office.) There is some confusion about the second name of this prior John, but no doubt about his identity: priur Johon avaundit ke ore est priur de Lewes; cf. *Sussex Archæological Society Collections*, ii 35.

[20] Rot. Pat., 57 Hen. III, m. 1.

[21] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1272–81, p. 325.

[22] *Ibid.* 1281–92, p. 159.

[23] *Ibid.* 1281–92, p. 192.

HENRY Normannus, 1286,[1] nominated by Prior of La Charité.

WILLIAM DE LA CHARITÉ, 1293 (October 5), nominated by Prior of La Charité.[2]

PETER DE ST. SAPHORIN, 1297, nominated by Prior of La Charité ;[3] died 1298.[4]

HENRY, sometime Prior of St. Helens, Isle of Wight, 1299,[5] nominated by Prior of La Charité ;[6] died 1312.[7]

PETER DE ST. LAURENCE, 1313,[8] nominated by Prior of La Charité ; protection for in 1327.[9]

WALTER DE DILUIZ, 1322,[10] nominated by Prior of La Charité; safe conduct to leave England 1324.[11]

JOHN DE CUSANCE, 1324, nominated by Prior of La Charité ; made his resignation to Henry, Prior of Wenlock, on October 8, 1360, at Wenlock.[12]

JOHN DE CHARLIEU (Caroloco), 1360,[13] nominated by Henry, Prior of Wenlock ; Vicar-general in England of the Prior of La Charité ; occurs 1363 ;[14] promoted Prior of Lewes 1364, died 1396.[15]

PETER DE TEVOLIO, 1364,[16] nominated by Prior of Wenlock ; Vicar-general in England of the Prior of La Charité ; died before January 18, 1374.[17]

RICHARD OF DOWNTON, 1374,[18] nominated by Prior of La Charité ; resigned 1390.[19]

[1] Corpus Christi College Cambridge Library, MS. 281. I am indebted to Miss H. M. Cam for this reference.

[2] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1292–1301, p. 39.

[3] *Ibid.* 1292–1301, p. 289.

[4] *Ibid.* 1292–1301, p. 386.

[5] *Ibid.* 1292–1301, p. 386.

[6] Rot. Claus., 6 Edw. II, m. 27d.

[7] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1307–13, p. 505.

[8] *Ibid.* 1327–30, p. 101.

[9] Rot. Pat., 15 Ed. II, pt. 2, m. 2.

[10] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1321–24, p. 397.

[11] Rot. Pat., 17 Ed. II, pt. 2, m. 19.

[12] Historical Manuscripts Commission, 10th Report, part iv, p. 423 (Borough of Wenlock).

[13] *Cal. of Fine Rolls*, vii 140, Order for commitment of keeping to John de Charlieu, October 15, 1360.

[14] The lost cartulary of Bermondsey, noted by Bishop Tanner, was compiled ' per fratrem Willelmum de Preston, 1363, tempore ven. et relig. viri dom. Joan. de Caroloco tunc dictae domus prioris ' (Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, p. 536).

[15] In a commonplace book, compiled *circa* 1454–83, which belonged to William Horton, a monk of Lewes, admitted 1475 aged 20, in a list of the priors of Lewes, John de Charlieu died 1396 in the thirty-third year of his priorate and was succeeded in 1397 by John Ok, prior of Castleacre. By a clerical error the name of Ok occurs instead of Caroloco in the year of his accession, 1363–64 : ' dominus Johannes Ok ' (*sic*) ' sublimatus est in prioratum Lewensem, qui antea extiterit prior de Bermondeseye per tres annos et eo amplius ' ; *cf.* 46th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Appendix, p. 66.

[16] Rot. Pat., 38 Ed. III, pt. 1, m. 14.

[17] *Cal. of Fine Rolls*, viii 233.

[18] Rot. Pat., 48 Ed. III, pt. 1, m. 20.

[19] *Ibid.*, 14 Ric. II, pt. 1, m. 5.

JOHN OF ATTLEBOROUGH, 1390,[1] nominated by William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, and John, Prior of Thetford; acting in the place of the Prior of La Charité during the schism in the papacy.

ABBOTS OF BERMONDSEY.

JOHN OF ATTLEBOROUGH, 1399,[2] resigned 1400.[3]
HENRY TOMPSTON, 1400,[4] elected; died 1413.[5]
THOMAS THETFORD, 1413,[6] elected; died 1432.[7]
JOHN BROMLEY, 1432,[8] elected; resigned 1473.[9]
JOHN MARLOW, 1473,[10] elected.
ROBERT SHOULDHAM, 1519,[11] elected; resigned 1525.[12]
ROBERT WARTON, 1525, elected.[13]

[1] Rot. Pat. 14 Ric. II, pt. 1, m. 5; cf. *ante*, p. 51.
[2] *Ante*, p. 56. [3] *Ante*, p. 57.
[4] Rot. Pat., 1 Hen. IV, pt. 5, m. 14; Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Arundel, vol. i, fos. 399, 399v.
[5] Rot. Pat., 1 Hen. V, pt. 1, m. 23. [6] *Ibid.* m. 18.
[7] *Ibid.* 11 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 9.
[8] *Ibid.* 11 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 12; Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Chicheley, vol. i, fo. 49v.
[9] Rot. Pat., 13 Ed. IV. pt. 1, m. 13; *ante*, p. 83.
[10] Rot. Pat., 13 Ed. IV, pt. 1, m. 17. The rumour that he had died of the plague in 1516 (cf. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. ii, pt. 1, p. 1832) was false; there was no vacancy until 1519.
[11] Rot. Pat., 11 Hen. VIII, pt. 1, m. 2; *cf.* Rymer, *Foedera*, xiii 405.
[12] Chancery Warrants, Series 2, No. 564. (Public Record Office.)
[13] Rot. Pat., 17 Hen. VIII, pt. 2, m. 7.

VI

ROLAND GOSENELL, PRIOR OF WENLOCK, 1521–6

When Roland Gosenell became prior of Wenlock in 1521, a small register passed into his hands which contained transcripts of some early charters and deeds and a few notes of later date. Prior Roland used it as his note book and entered in his own handwriting a series of interesting proceedings which throw light on the history of the monastery a few years before the dissolution. The register was not known to Bishop Tanner or to the editors of Dugdale's 'Monasticon'; it was used by Eyton, but he referred very briefly to Prior Roland.[1]

Roland Gosenell was the first prior who was elected by the monks. His predecessors had been nominated either by the priors of the French mother-house of La Charité on the Loire, or their vicar-general in England, or during the papal schism by the archbishop of Canterbury and the priors of Bermondsey and Thetford,[2] and on one or two occasions by the Crown.[3] In the reign of Edward IV the life of the monastery was disturbed by disputes between rival priors who were nominated by La Charité and the Crown. Prior Richard Singer and the convent took steps to secure a bull from Pope Alexander VI in 1494 by which Wenlock priory was released from all dependence on La Charité and Cluny and was placed directly under the see of Rome.[4] The monks became subject to visitation by the papal collector in London. They had the right of freely electing their prior who could enter on his office

[1] R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, iii 253.
[2] *Ante*, p. 46. [3] *Ante*, p. 62.
[4] Wenlock Register, in the possession of Lord Forester at Willey, fos. 47–48. At the request of Dr. Cranage, Lord Forester deposited the register at the Society of Antiquaries, and I wish to record my grateful thanks to him for his kindness and courtesy.

without seeking confirmation from any ecclesiastical superior, but if there was a dispute among the monks and they did not agree at the election, they were bound to ask the papal collector to confirm it. A payment of fifty gold florins was due as annates within three months of the election, and must be paid to the papal collector in London, and in default the bull became of no effect.

Prior Roland entered in the register a record in Latin of the proceedings at his election under the heading: 'In negotio electionis forma tempore Rolandi prioris.'[1] This narrative supplements in important particulars the entries concerning the election in the Hereford register of Bishop Booth[2] from which it would not be possible to discover that there had been any opposition. Moreover, the bishop's registrar used the words *et cetera* and omitted several names of interest.

Prior Richard Singer, also called Wenlock, died on May 20, 1521, and Thomas Smyth, the subprior, and the convent sent two proctors to London to notify the king and make a formal request for freedom of election. The following fees were paid on the demand of the clerks of the Chancery: for sealing the Letters Patent granting freedom of election £1 0*s.* 4*d.*, for the Master of the Rolls 0*s.* 8*d.*, for writing and enrolling the Letters Patent 6*s.* 8*d.* The proctors returned to Wenlock, and a doctor of laws, whose name is not given, was summoned to direct the procedure at the election. He instructed the subprior as president of the chapter to put a notice on the doors of the priory church summoning all those who believed that they had a right to take part in the election, which was held in the third or fourth week of June, though the date is not specified. John Webley, prior of Dudley, and one monk, John Castell, prior of Preen, and John Bayly, prior of Sandwell, with one monk appeared and claimed to have a voice in the election. They were informed that in accordance with the canon law, priors of a lesser church, *i.e.* of dependent priories, whose professions and property were

[1] Wenlock Register, fos. 20v–22.

[2] *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, Bothe*, ed. A. T. Bannister, pp. 106–114. (Canterbury and York Society.)

entirely distinct, were not bound to be summoned to the chapter to elect the head of the mother-house except by custom ; as this was the first election at Wenlock they could not claim to be summoned by custom.

The monks of Wenlock elected Roland Gosenell, but they were not unanimous, and immediately after the election William Corfill,[1] the sacrist, carried off the convent seal to Dudley priory to hinder the dispatch of the certificate of the election for the king's assent. The prior of Dudley and some of his party went to London to put their case before Cardinal Wolsey, asserting that the election was null and void, first because Roland Gosenell had not a majority of the whole chapter, secondly because he was not expressly professed as a monk of Wenlock, and thirdly because he was considered as an apostate, and he had appealed against unjust imprisonment to a superior authority without asking permission, and they also made other 'contumelious' charges against him, which are not recorded.

As the convent seal had been carried off by the sacrist, William Burghill, LL.D., vicar-general of the bishop of Hereford and principal official of his consistory court, affixed his seal to the certificate of election, and it is therefore probable that he was the doctor of laws who had presided over it. Roland Gosenell came to London to ask for the king's assent. It was given on July 7, and a fee of 13*s.* 4*d.* was paid. The king formally notified the cardinal to execute the business which devolved on him. Roland Gosenell was kept in London over a fortnight longer. Owing to pressure of important business, Cardinal Wolsey was unable to hold the inquiry about the election in person, and on July 24 he deputed Charles Booth, bishop of Hereford, to act for him and confirm the election, if valid. The prior returned to Wenlock, and on August 1 the subprior and monks appointed Richard Fishwick, keeper of the kitchen, and Alan Newport as their proctors, and bound themselves to ratify the acts of the proctors. On August 2 Roland Gosenell and the proctors appeared before Bishop Booth in the nave of the church of the Benedictine monastery of

[1] *Cf. post*, p. 144.

St. Peter and St. Paul at Shrewsbury in which he was holding a consistory court, and delivered Cardinal Wolsey's commission with a letter from the subprior and convent requesting him to act upon it. The letters were read aloud and received with respect, and the bishop immediately appointed August 9 for the inquiry to be held in Wenlock priory church, and issued a citation to all who opposed or supported the election to be present, mentioning by name the priors of Dudley, Preen and Sandwell and five of the Wenlock monks—Thomas Acton, cellarer, W. Wenlock, sacrist and precentor, John Wellington, Thomas Shrewsbury, keeper of the refectory, and W. Bange. It was posted on the doors of Wenlock priory church.

The bishop opened the inquiry in the nave at Wenlock priory on August 9. One of the proctors of the convent presented a petition for the confirmation of the election, asserting that all who had a right to be summoned had taken part in it, and the subprior, the almoner, the keeper of the kitchen and the cellarer gave evidence in support of the petition. Four other witnesses, inhabitants of Bridgnorth, testified that Roland Gosenell was born in wedlock and was of lawful age. The Gosenell family were well known in Bridgnorth.[1] They derived their name from the berewick of Goosenhall, now Gonsal, in the parish of Condover.[2] The name occurs fairly often in the borough records of Bridgnorth: *e.g.* Richard Gosenell was sworn a burgess on January 22, 1459;[3] and also in the records of the Peculiar jurisdiction, *e.g.* John Gosynhall was one of the stall-vicars of St. Mary Magdalen, Bridgnorth, in 1480,[4] and Richard Gosenell was churchwarden of St. Leonard's in 1472.[5] The certificate of the vicar-general of Lichfield, dated July 22, 1521, stated that, according to the entry in the bishop's register, Roland Bridgnorth, alias Gowsenell, monk of Wenlock, in deacon's orders, was ordained priest in the cathedral church of Lichfield on September 19, 1507. The opposers brought forward the objections which they had already made to Cardinal Wolsey and alleged that he

[1] I am indebted to Prebendary Clark-Maxwell for all this information about the Gosenell family.

[2] Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vi 27.

[3] Great Leet Book, fo. 10.

[4] Acta Book, fo. 6.

[5] *Ibid.* fo. 1.

had not been professed expressly as a monk of Wenlock and that he was guilty of apostasy. After hearing the witnesses and taking legal advice, the bishop gave judgement that the allegations against the person of the prior-elect were untrue, there was no act of apostasy, and the election was valid. He decreed the confirmation of the election, sealed the document and sent it to Cardinal Wolsey; Wolsey notified the king and requested him to instruct the escheators to restore the temporalities to the prior. The king sent a writ sealed with his privy seal to the bishop and to the abbot of Shrewsbury to receive the oath of fealty, and Prior Roland noted in the register 'the fee for the writ is 6*s.* 8*d.* in the common estimation, although the clerks take as much as they can get.' The oath was administered to him in these words:

'Ye shall swere that ye shalbe faithfull and trewe, and feith and trouth shall bere unto the kyng our soveraigne lord and his heires kynges of England, of lyfe and lymme and erthly worship to lyfe and dye against all people. And diligently ye shalbe entendant unto the kynges nedes and besoignes after your witte and power. And the kyngis counsell ye shall kepe and layn. And truly ye shall knowledge an doo the services due of the temporalities of your priorie of Wenlok the which ye clayme to hold of our said soveraign lord the kyng, And the which he geveth you. And to hym and his commandments in that that to you atteyneth and belongeth for your temporalties ye shalbe obeissaunt. As God helpe you and his sayncts.'[1]

Bishop Booth and the abbot of Shrewsbury notified the king, and on October 10 he instructed the escheators to restore the temporalities. A payment was made to the king according to the length of the vacancy, and the following fees were also demanded by the clerks of the chancery:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To the great Chamberlain of England . . .	2	0	0
To the Master of the Rolls	3	0	0
For writing and enrolling	1	0	0
To the clerks of the hanaper	0	6	8
To the chafer of the wax	0	1	0
For the fee of the Petty Bag because the Cardinal had the king's seal with him at Calais . . .	2	0	0

[1] Wenlock Register, fo. 51. This is the oath administered to Roland's successor, John Bayly.

The prior also took an oath of allegiance to the pope, which was entered in Latin in Bishop Booth's register: 'I swear on the holy Gospels that I will be obedient to his holiness the lord pope and his successors, and I will protect and defend the rights and liberties of the priory to the utmost of my ability, so help me God and His holy Gospels.' In accordance with the bull of Alexander VI under which the election was held, he paid fifty gold florins to the papal collector in London, and he noted in the margin that this sum represented £10 or £11 sterling.[1] At the value of money at the beginning of the present century the election had cost over £120 in fees without reckoning travelling expenses and lodging in London.

Prior Roland was able and ambitious, and he at once petitioned the pope for further privileges. On March 10, 1522, Pope Adrian VI confirmed the bull of his predecessor and granted to the present prior, for himself alone, the use of the mitre, ring, pastoral staff, and other ornaments of a bishop.[2] He was empowered to give solemn benediction to the people in the priory church and in other places dependent on the monastery. He could confer the four minor orders on his monks and novices, on secular persons and the servants of the monastery, and wherever he celebrated Mass he could grant an indulgence of forty days to those persons present who were truly penitent and had made their confessions.

He also aspired to become a titular bishop so that he might act as a suffragan in any diocese, and a draft of the petition to the pope for the next vacant see was entered in his register, with the date 1523.[3] He wished to hold Wenlock priory and two benefices, or some alternative to provide him with an income as a suffragan, and the petition was said to be made at the request of the bishop of Hereford. Thomas Fowler, prior of Monmouth, who had the title 'episcopus Lachorensis,' died in 1520; he had acted in the diocese of Hereford for Bishop Mayew since 1506[4] and had received a fresh commission from Bishop Booth in 1517[5]

[1] Wenlock Register, fo. 46v. [2] *Ibid.* fos. 48–49v. [3] *Ibid.* f. 46v.
[4] *Register of Mayew*, ed. A. T. Bannister, p. iii, note. 5. (Canterbury and York Society.)
[5] *Register of Bothe*, pp. 16–17.

THE SOUTH TRANSEPT

ENTRANCE TO THE CHAPTERHOUSE
WENLOCK PRIORY

and had held several ordinations for him. The bishop needed the help of a suffragan, and had considered the prior of Wenlock, but his choice fell on John Smart, abbot of Wigmore, and on July 2, 1523, he requested his agent in London to write to the papal curia for bulls providing him with a titular bishopric.[1] The business took three years, and the abbot of Wigmore was not consecrated to the see of Pavada until 1526.[2]

Roland Gosenell was very active as prior, and made a note that in his first year of office he bought the little bells which were rung at the hours, and he put new glass in great part into the windows of the nave and whitewashed it.[3] He painted the great hall and put new glass into certain windows and rebuilt the louvre. At Oxenbold he rebuilt the fish house and paved the great hall and in his second year he glazed it, and also built the chimney of the kitchen. There is some ambiguity about his work at Barrow. The entry is 'apud Barewe cancellam [*sic*] fecit.' He did not build the chancel of Barrow church, which is Saxon with the exception of the east wall, which was rebuilt in 1844, and is depicted in a sketch made early in the nineteenth century with an east window of two lights.[4] There is no trace of a chancel screen in the church. Possibly he had the screens made in the hall of the manor-house. He also built a new house at 'le Barus' and a sheepcot.

Apparently under Prior Richard Singer, who had ruled the monastery for thirty-six years, the monks had gone in and out as they pleased, and hunted and played cards and other games and had shewn hospitality to their relations and friends of both sexes. Prior Roland, according to his own account, restrained their old unlawful liberties and closed up back doors to the cloister and the monastery, and in 1523 they entered into a confederacy against him, and refused to come to the chapter-house when he summoned them, and he alleged that he went daily in fear of his life, as he had caused certain of his friends to

[1] *Register of Bothe*, p. 145.
[2] W. Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, appendix v, p. 203.
[3] Wenlock Register, fo. 22v.
[4] D. H. S. Cranage, *The Churches of Shropshire*, i 176–180.

accompany with them to know their malicious purpose.[1] He appealed to Cardinal Wolsey as papal legate, and Wolsey appointed Dr. John Allen, canon of Lincoln, as his commissary-general to visit and reform the monastery, and he arrived at Wenlock early in September 1523.

In Prior Roland's register there is a form for the visitation of a monastery with the articles of inquiry; they had probably been framed by Cardinal Wolsey for a general visitation of monasteries, and were used by Dr. Allen at Wenlock. On September 7 in the chapter-house he gave the prior and monks a series of injunctions, counsels and exhortations in a summary form in the vulgar tongue, and afterwards he sent them written in full in Latin to the prior, commanding that he or the subprior or anyone acting as president of the chapter should have them read and explained to all the monks assembled in chapter once a fortnight for a year. He instructed the prior to see that they were entered in the registers or archives of the house for their perpetual remembrance. Prior Roland obeyed his command and copied them into his register.[2] As it is impossible to give a fair account in a summary, they have been freely translated.

The injunctions were as follows:

1. That each and all of the monks shall beware in future of endeavouring to cloak corrupt practices, under the name of custom, for instance with reference to silence, the canonical hours, the fasts of the rule and other ceremonies of monastic life, under pain of mortal sin.

2. That in future professed monks, even if they are not in orders, shall go to confession and communion once a month, subdeacons every third Sunday, deacons once a fortnight, and priests, if any there be who are not celebrating on account of weakness and illness, shall communicate every Sunday at least. In future the prior must see to this more diligently on pain of suspension from his office for a month if he is found remiss.

3. That monks are straitly commanded not only to keep the rule of continuous silence more strictly in the church, refectory and dormitory and in the cloister also at certain hours and

[1] Wenlock Register, f. 26; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. iv, pt. i, No. 954.

[2] Wenlock Register, fos. 26–29; *cf.* Appendix. I am much indebted to the Bishop of Truro and to Professor A. Hamilton Thompson for their kind help in translating difficult points in these injunctions.

places, but also to refrain absolutely from drunkenness, tippling and insobriety under penalty of imprisonment for a month as the prior decrees.

4. That a master or tutor shall be appointed for the young monks to teach them grammar and humanities, and also to instruct them in the observance of monastic life. The rule of the order shall be expounded to them at least once a week, so that not only shall they understand the meaning of the rule which they are pledged to keep, but also that they may be better fitted to become priests. The penalty for neglect of this injunction by the prior is suspension from officiating at divine office for a month.

5. That henceforth the monks shall not hold conversations with women, nor shall women come frequently to the monastery, and no women whether relations or others shall enter the cloister on the penalty of an order of purgation *ipso facto*.

6. That the greater part of the monks shall be present at the divine offices and especially at nocturns, and also that all shall sleep in the dormitory, and at least once a day thay shall eat in the refectory, and the prior is forbidden to give dispensations in such cases except for reasons of real importance, under pain of sequestration.

7. That twice a year the prior shall make a serious and careful search to see that none of the monks are in possession of private property in accordance with the constitution of the legate Ottoboni, under penalty of suspension *ipso facto* from the administration of his office.

8. That henceforth the monks shall wear suitable habits of black serge of English or French make only, and not of worsted, and they shall have the proper tonsure which befits their religious profession, under penalty not only of the withdrawal of their allowance, but also of more serious correction.

9. That the common seal shall be kept with the muniments relating to the temporalities and spiritualities in the building or room in which the charters are stored so as to safeguard them from various dangers which may occur to them, under penalty of suspension of the officials and keepers from their offices.

10. That from henceforth when the common seal of the convent is affixed, the deed must bear not merely a general signature, but the signature of each several monk, whether he consents or dissents especially in financial matters. All documents of this kind must be put before the monks for at least twenty-four hours, so that it may be clear from their signatures not only that the greater part of the chapter consented, but also that there may be a full discussion as to whether the business in hand is useful and necessary or not, under the penalty that what you seem to have shall be taken away from you.

11. That at least once a year either in the presence of all

the monks, or of the more prudent and older brethren, the prior shall render full clear and complete accounts of his administration for the past year, and he shall hand over a copy collated with the original and signed by him, under penalty of sequestration for a year.

12. That keepers shall be appointed to keep the doors of the cloister, the chapter house and the dormitory in the day and also to lock them at night, and they shall attend diligently to their duties under penalty of the sentence of anathema.

13. That no one under the age of fifteen shall be admitted to wear the monastic habit, or remain in the monastery beyond the year of probation unless within a month afterwards he shall make his solemn profession in the chapter house, under penalty of being interdicted from entering the church.

14. That monks shall refrain from hunting and shall expel their dogs not only from the cloister and the dormitory, but also from the monastery, under penalty of the canon law and of the rule.

15. That monks shall not play cards, marbles [1] or chess for money within the monastery or elsewhere, under penalty of fasting on bread and water for three days.

16. That henceforth the fragments left in the refectory, the misericord and at the prior's table, shall not be misused but put to pious use and given to the poor, especially to those living in the neighbourhood of the monastery, and that a monk shall be chosen as almoner who is suitable in age, character and integrity for the office, under penalty of divine vengeance.

17. That the rule of silence may be kept more strictly in the refectory, for breaches of the same each monk shall be fined twopence on feast days, when more than one course was served, for each course, and twopence, neither more nor less, on ordinary days, under penalty of the wrath of the legate a latere.

18. That bevers [a draught of wine or beer allowed in addition to the ordinary drink at meals] shall be taken in silence in the refectory and not elsewhere, and by permission, and there shall be no messing apart except in the misericord or at the prior's table, under the penalty for contempt of this command.

19. That none of the monks shall take any boys into the dormitory or have them habitually in their private company, forming a household within the monastery, or talk with them in chambers or elsewhere, so as to avoid sinister suspicions which arise out of such intercourse, under the penalty suitable for such crimes of which it is better to be ignorant than to have knowledge.

20. That monks are forbidden to carry arms within the monastery and they shall not presume to hold conventicles or

[1] Professor Hamilton Thompson suggests for *spirulos*, either marbles, or a game played with round pieces on a board, or possibly Nine Men's Morris.

little councils and they shall abstain from disparagement and murmuring, and also from conspiracy against their order, and from the defence of evildoers under penalty of excommunication.

21. That monks shall not presume to take recreation in the garden after compline or go outside the monastery, and they shall not indulge in late drinking, but go to the dormitory and keep the rule of silence under the penalty imposed on those who transgress it, for fifteen days in succession, or as may be defined.

22. That the number of monks shall be increased, according to the surplus resources of the monastery, at a suitable time, to make better provision for divine worship, under penalty of the law.

23. That books, chalices, linen altar cloths and albs, and other ornaments appointed for divine worship shall be kept in better repair and washed more thoroughly and taken more care of, and that lights in the dormitory and elsewhere shall be lighted under penalty of suspension of the subprior from office for six months.

24. That the monks of Wenlock who hold office inside or outside the monastery shall resign their offices to the prior once a year and give them up of their own accord without qualification so that by reason of long administration they may not have the expectation of enjoying them perpetually, under penalty of holding private property *ipso facto*.

25. That they use Gregorian music and that they sing distinctly, pronouncing the psalms with a deliberate enunciation of the syllables, making a pause in the middle of the verse as well as at the end, on pain of fasting upon bread and water each time they fail in this respect.

26. Lastly that the prior, the subprior and other presidents, officials and monks shall not presume secretly or publicly to inquire of any of them touching the *comperta*,[1] what he deposed at this legatine visitation under penalty of contempt of the wrath of the legate.

These injunctions were followed by a series with the heading ' Counsels and Exhortations.'

1. It is advisable that the monks shall practise mechanical arts,[2] so that their leisure may not be a weapon for the ancient enemy to enslave them.

[1] The *comperta* are the visitor's findings from the *detecta* given privately by each monk on deposition. These were published at the conclusion of the visitation or soon after, but the *detecta* were not published, and thus the source of the *comperta* was a subject of interest; *cf. Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, vol. i, pp. x, xi (Canterbury and York Society).

[2] *Cf.* Appendix II, *post*, p. 144.

2. Monks shall abstain from every kind of flesh food in the refectory until they have received a dispensation from the papacy.

3. It is advisable to restrict recreation [*i.e.* a stay at a manor or grange during convalescence after the regular bleedings] and in compensation to allow two hours a day in the monastery, for a suitable period, in addition to the ordinary daily time for relaxation.

4. The prior or monks when on a journey shall leave their horses at the inn, and spend the night at monasteries if there is a convenient house of their own order in the neighbourhood.

5. The monks are advised to observe a third Lent of fasting which represents the fast of Christ's Apostles from Ascension Day to Whit Sunday; and to suppress the second Lent so as to make up for the aforesaid third Lent. And it begins only on Quinquagesima Sunday.

6. It is advisable that the prior shall not exceed the bounds of moderation in correcting the excesses of the monks, and that he shall be pleasant, affable, kind and friendly to them with due respect to the dignity of a father in his relations with his sons.

7. It is advisable that in maintaining his household of servants or lay folk the prior shall be careful to keep within the bounds of moderation in proportion to the charges laid upon the monastery, so that he may not seem to waste the goods of the monastery imprudently on the pretext of hospitality, and also that he may not incur the stigma of luxurious living by an excessive retinue of servants and ceremony at his table.

8. It is advisable that unnecessary processions shall not be held round the circuit of the monastery, and they shall devote themselves more to observing the ceremonies of the real monastic life.

9. Lastly it is advisable as in the new legatine constitutions that monks shall be content with food and clothes instead of receiving money allowances for a stipend or salary or office, and they shall avoid dispensations to hold benefices and conversation with women which may give rise to sinister suspicions: nevertheless they may receive payment for their presence at funerals.

Some of the monks presented an indictment of twenty articles against the prior to Dr. Allen, who suspended him from office and referred the indictment to Cardinal Wolsey. It is known only from the prior's answer to 'the complaint laid against him for vexation by surmise of certain of his convent and other of his enemies.'[1] The minority who

[1] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. iv, pt. i, No. 954.

had disputed his election again brought forward the charges which had been declared by the bishop of Hereford to have no foundation. He maintained that he had never written 'against his late master, excepting an account of his acts in a chronicle of all the priors which he revoked at his said master's wish.' He had never borrowed money except as appeared in his accounts shewn to Dr. Allen, and he had cut down no timber, but crop and lop. He had discharged the bailiff at Eaton for his evil demeanour. The sum of £4 given him in a chalice made of broken silver by brother Richard Fishwike, keeper of the kitchen in 1521, was in exchange for certain bells. He had taken an ivory crosier, said to be that of St. Milburge, and ornamented it with jewels, and he had appropriated other ornaments which he intended to have put into a mitre 'for the honour of God and the house.'

On June 26, 1524, Dr. Allen dissolved the visitation and restored the prior to office.[1] Roland wrote in his own hand that the document had the seal of the cardinal which was affixed in his house at Westminster, and he added a note that, besides the food supplied to the officials who came to Wenlock, a fee for the visitation was paid to Wolsey of £17, representing about £200 at the present value.

There is no entry in the register to throw light on the last two years of Prior Roland's rule. Sandwell priory was one of the small monasteries dissolved by the cardinal for the purpose of endowing his colleges at Ipswich and Oxford in 1524;[2] the prior of Sandwell, John Bayly, with one monk returned to the mother-house and in December 1526[3] he succeeded Roland as prior of Wenlock. The last entry in the register is the king's writ to the abbot of Shrewsbury to administer the oath of obedience to John Bayly.

The circumstances which led to Prior Roland's resignation are unknown. It may be surmised that he was induced to resign and to take a pension. On March 6, 1539, a Roland Gosenell was instituted to the rectory of

[1] Wenlock Register, fo. 29.

[2] Shaw, *History of Staffordshire*, vol. ii, pt. i, p. 128. It is uncertain when Sandwell was united to Wenlock; it was founded as a Benedictine priory and was still Benedictine in 1436.

[3] Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, iii 253.

Oldbury near Bridgnorth;[1] he was probably the former prior of Wenlock, for he was not in the monastery when the prior and convent surrendered it to Henry VIII on January 26, 1540,[2] and his name is not included in the list of pensions assigned on that day.[3] However, his claim to a pension as a former prior was successful, and in 1543 and 1544 he was receiving it half-yearly at the rate of £26 13*s.* 4*d.* a year.[4] Oldbury was a poor living, valued only at £5 a year in the King's Books, but there is some evidence that Roland Gosenell continued to hold it until 1560, when he was deprived of it either by Bishop Scory[5] or by the queen's visitors. He was then at least seventy-seven and had outlived almost all the monks of Wenlock. The place and date of his death are at present unknown.

[1] *Register of Boihe*, p. 382. I am indebted to Prebendary Clark-Maxwell for all this information about his later career; *cf.* his article 'The Monks of Wenlock after the Suppression,' *Shropshire Archæological Society Transactions* (Fourth Series), ix 172.

[2] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. xv, no. 111.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] British Museum Additional MS. 11058, fo. 21, 21v, 86, 87.

[5] *Shropshire Archæological Society Transactions* (Fourth Series), ix 173. I am informed by Prebendary Clark-Maxwell that the Roland Gosenell who was instituted to Tenbury in 1555 and deprived in 1562 was possibly a chantry priest of Bablake, Coventry. It may be this second Roland Gosenell who died as vicar of Isleworth in 1570; *cf.* Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i 675.

APPENDIX I

The Injunctions of Dr. Allen, Commissary-General of Cardinal Wolsey, 1523 [1]

N. 26—29. Notandum quod dominus Rolandus Bruge fuit prior electus anno 1521 et in anno secundo post fratres quidam sui conventus conjuraverunt contra ipsum ita irreligiose quod cum ipso in capitulo noluerunt intrare, tandem prefatus Rolandus supplicavit reverendissimum cardinalem Thomam de latere pro adjutorio; Qui quidem destinavit quendam doctorem reverendum nomine Alanum ad visitandum et reformandum cujus reformacionis et visitacionis forma sequitur ad perpetuam rei memoriam.
Injunctiones edite apud Wenlock ordinis Cluniacensis Herfordensis diocesis septimo die mensis Septembris anno domini millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo tertio per venerabilem virum magistrum Johannem Alen utriusque juris doctorem canonemque ecclesie cathedralis beate Marie Lincolniensis et prebendarium reverendissimi in Christo patris ac domini Domini Thome miseracione divina tituli sancte Cecilie sacrosancte Romane ecclesie presbiteri cardinalis Eboracensis archiepiscopi Anglie primatis et cancellarii ac apostolice sedis nati atque etiam et de latere inibi legati commissarium exemptorum omnium generalem, in visitacione legatina ibidem per eum exercita et cetera ac ad perpetuam rei memoriam in presenti libello sive instrumento in suo ordine redacte.

Jussa et Mandata.

1. In primis quod commonachi omnes et singuli precaveant deinceps ne sub nomine consuetudinis palleare sategant corruptelas pro ut de silentio horis canonicis et jejunio regule ac aliis ceremoniis religionis sub pena peccati mortalis.
2. Item precipitur quod imposterum tam ad confessionem quam ad communionem professi etnon in sacris omni mense, subdiaconi vero omni tercia dominica, diaconi autem omni quindena et presbiteri si qui sunt ob debilitatis egritudinesve non celebrantes omni dominica die semel ad minus accedant, et in posterum diligencius observetur a priore

[1] The Latin is in places very obscure, and the writer was careless in distinguishing between nominative and accusative, active and passive, indicative and subjunctive. Only emendations necessary for the sense have been made and some errors in spelling are also noted.

sub pena suspensionis ab officio sue administracionis per mensem si remissus in hac parte inveniatur.

3. Item districtius jubetur commonachis quatinus non modo silentium exactius in oratorio refectorio dormitorio continue et in claustro quoque certis horis et locis observent, set etiam quod a crapula ingurgitacione [1] et inebrietate sese refrenant omnino sub pena incarceracionis per mensem arbitrarie.
4. Item jubetur quod religiosis juvenibus magister sive preceptor deputetur qui eos grammaticam et humaniores litteras necnon et alia religionis dogmata doceat, quibus etiam regula ordinis semel saltem in ebdomada interpretabitur ad effectum quod nedum scire possunt ea que ex regula astricti sunt sed etiam ut ad sacerdotium aptiores fiant, sub pena suspensionis prioris a divinis per mensem.
5. Item precipitur ne de cetero cum mulieribus fiat colloquium neque frequens earundem ad monasterium sit accessus, ac interdicitur etiam omnibus feminis tam consanguineis [2] quam exteris ne claustrum monasterii ingrediantur sub pena indicende purgacionis ipso facto.
6. Item mandatur quod major pars conventus imposterum divinis intersint offitiis et presertim nocturnis verum eciam quod omnes et singuli seorsum in dormitorio dormiant, necnon quod semel saltem in die commedant in refectorio, ac inhibetur priori contra premissa dispensare absque magna et racionabili causa subsistente sub pena sequestracionis fructuum.
7. Item injungitur priori quatinus bis in anno contra proprietarios solempnem et diligentem inter commonachos suos fatiat inquisicionem juxta constitucionem Ottoboni legati sub pena instituta in eadem, videlicet si hoc administracione sua sit suspensus quo adusque premissa fuerit diligenter executus.
8. Item jubetur commonachis omnibus et singulis quatinus deinceps non modo vestibus utantur conformibus videlicet de nigro saio anglico vel gallico dumtaxat, et non de ly worsted, sed et debitam deferant tonsuram et coronam religioni sue convenientem sub pena nedum substracionis stipendii sed etiam majoris redargutionis.
9. Item mandatur quod sigillum commune una cum munimentis tam temporalium quam spiritualium collocentur in domo sive camera cartarum ad evitanda pericula varia que circa ipsorum etatum possunt invenire [3] sub pena suspensionis offitialium et custodum a suis offitiis.
10. Item quod amodo cum sigilli communis appensione non solum manus omnium sed et singulorum commonacorum tam consententium quam dissententium [4] maxime in arduis

[1] MS. ingurgtitacione.
[2] MS. consangueis.
[3] *Sic* MS.
[4] MS. consentium et dissentium.

subscribantur, Verum etiam quod hujusmodi scripture penes conventum per unicum saltem diem integrum permaneant ad effectum nedum faciliter probari valeat ex hujusmodi subscriptionibus consensus majoris partis capituli, sed et inter eos discuti valeat an utiles sunt et necessarie nec ne sub pena quod videamini habere auferetur a vobis.

11. Item quod prior semel saltem in anno coram toto conventu aut prudentioribus et senioribus ejusdem plenum planum integrum reddat totius sue administracionis annualis compotum, copiamque ejusdem collationatam et manu sua subscriptam eis tradat sub pena sequestracionis fructuum ejusdem per annum.
12. Item districtius injungitur quod pro hostiis non modo claustri sed et capituli sed etiam dormitorii tam de die servandis deputentur custodes quam etiam ad seranda de nocte eadem aliqui [1] constituantur offitiales qui diligenter ad id intendant sub pena interminacionis anathematis.
13. Item prohibetur strictissime ne quis ante XVm. sue etatis annum in habitu religionis admittetur aut ultra annum probacionis in dicta domo diutius stet, nisi infra mensem unum post lapsum annum probacionis solempniter adhibitus tante religionis ceremoniis in domo capituli profiteatur expresse sub pena interdicti ab ingressu ecclesie.
14. Item quod monachi a venacionibus sese abstineant canesque tam a claustro et dormitorio quam ab ipso monasterio expellant omnino sub pena canonis et regule.
15. Item firmius injungendo mandatur ne quis monachus ad cartas spirulos [2] vel scaccaria pro pecunia infra septa monasterii aut alibi ludere presumat sub pena jejunii in pane et aqua per tres dies.
16. Item jubetur quod fragmenta tam in refectorio et in misericordia quam in mensa prioris amodo non abutuntur, sed in pium usum convertantur, et quod pauperibus erogentur maxime vicinis huic cenobio, et quod elemosinarius constituatur vir religiosus etate et moribus ac vite integritate ad id idoneus sub pena divine ultionis.
17. Item quod in refectorio in ferculo singuli, ut silentium exactius observetur [3] ijd et in profestis singuli ijd absque augmentacione et diminucione sub pena indignacionis reverendi domini legati de latere.
18. Item inibi fiat biberum cum silentio et licentia et non alibi uti, nec commestiones nisi in misericordia vel in mensa prioris sub pena contemptus hujus mandati.
19. Item firmiter injungendo mandatur commonachis omnibus et singulis quod pueros in dormitorio non admittant neque cum eis familiares sint, seu in cameras aut alibi cum ipsis

[1] MS. aliquos. [2] *Sic* MS., possibly for merulos.
[3] Words apparently omitted.

quovis modo conversentur ad evitandas suspiciones sinistras que ex hujusmodi commerciis oriuntur sub pena commensuratia delictorum quorum melius est non scire quam scire.

20. Item interdicitur ne monachi [1] arma infra septa monasterii teneant et quod conventicula seu conciliabula inire non presumant, et quod a detractionibus et susurracionibus necnon a conspiracione ordinis ac a defensione transgredientium sese penitus abstineant sub pena excommunicacionis late sentencie.

21. Item prohibetur expresse ne monachi post completorium sese in hortis reficiant aut aliunde extra septa monasterii progredi presumant seu potacionibus serotinis sese dedant sed ad dormitorium se conferant et silentium inibi observant sub pena indicendi silentii transgressoribus per XV dies continuos vel difinitivos.

22. Item quod numerus monachorum juxta facultates super existentes ad tempus congruum pro divino cultu augendo augmentatur sub pena juris.

23. Item quod libri calices panni linei altarium similiter et albarum et alia ornamenta divino cultui deputata melius reficiantur, ac mundius laventur et diligentius observentur, et quod luminaria tam in dormitorio quam alibi accendantur sub pena suspensionis suppriori imponenda a suo offitio per sex menses.

24. Item precipitur commonachis dicte domus de Wenlock offitiariis tam claustralibus quam exteris quibuscumque quatinus semel in anno offitia sua hujusmodi in manus prioris sursum reddant, et eisdem sponte pure et simpliciter renuntiant, ne pretextu diutine administracionis sese perpetuo frui eisdem exspectent sub pena proprietatis ipso facto censende.

25. Item injungitur preterea quod gregoriana nota utantur et quod distincte cantent longo sillabarum protractu psalmos pronunciando tam in medio versus quam etiam in fine pausando sub pena jejunii in pane et aqua per tres dies quotiens in hac parte deliquerint.

26. Postremo mandatur tam priori quam suppriori et aliis presidentibus offitiariis monachis hujus cenobii quibuscumque ne clam vel palam investigare presumant seu eorum aliquis audeat super compertis a quoquam quid deposuerit in hujusmodi visitacione legatina sub pena non modo contemptorum sed et contemptus indignacionis dicti reverendi patris legatique de latere.

Consilia et Exhortaciones.

1. In primis consulitur quod artes mechanice [2] licite et honeste inter commonachos exerceantur ne ociositas sit arma [3] antiqui hostis captivandas.[3]

[1] MS. monachis. [2] MS. mechanices. [3] *Sic* MS.

2. Item quod commonachi in refectorio ab omni specie carnium sese abstineant quousque a sede apostolica aliter cum eisdem fuerit dispensatum.
3. Item consultum erit quod scenes [1] extra septa monasterii moderentur, et ad duas horas cujuslibet diei infra cenobium pro tempore congruo augeantur.
4. Item quod prior aut monachi itinerantes dimissis equis ad hospitium ad cenobia ejusdem ordinis si que prope sunt pernoctaturi accedant.
5. Item consulitur commonachis quod inter eos tertia observetur quadragesima que [2] jejunium apostolorum domini a festo ascensionis domini usque in festum pentecostes et secunda quadragesima restinguatur in recompensam dicte tertie. Et incipitur a dominica quinquagesime dumtaxat.
6. Item hortatur prior quod in corrigendis confratrum suorum excessibus modum non excedat, et quod eis facilem affabilem et benignum atque benevolum salva debita et congrua patris erga filios gravitate prebeat.
7. Item priori consulitur quod in alenda famulorum vel laicorum familia modum servare circumspitiat juxta onera dudum cenobio incumbentia, ne pretextu hospitalitatis bona monasterii parum prudenter conterrere videatur, et ne nimia inservientium et in mensa sua eadem observantia [3] curiositatis nota aspergatur.
8. Item consulitur quod superflue circa monasterii ambitus deinceps non celebrentur processiones, et quod in servandis vere religionis ceremoniis sese magis dedant.
9. Postremo quod novellis constitucionibus legatinis consulitur quod monachi solo victu et vestitu pro stipendio et salario ac offitio absque pecunia sese contentant, ad evitandas capacitates et cum mulieribus suspiciones sinistras salvis tamen defunctorum exequiis.

Quas quidem injunctiones pariter et consilia et exhortaciones omnes et singulas suprascriptas dictus dominus commissarius die quo supra in domo capitulari prefati cenobii de Wenlock summarie ad tunc et per compendium vulgariter exposuit, et easdem postmodum prout in presenti instrumento continentur in longum exaratas priori dicte domus transmisit mandans eidem quatinus non modo eisdem per se aut suppriorem sive presidentem aliquem omni quindena a die datarum presentium per annum unum toto conventui in pleno capitulo perlegi faciat et exponi sed etiam quod in regestris publicis sive archivis dicti monasterii conscribi et ad perpetuam rei geste memoriam regestrari faciat. Ne forsan inposterum ipsius prioris incuria negligantur seu oblivioni quod absit tradantur.

[1] English seynies = sanguinata. French saignée.
[2] Word omitted. [3] MS. eandem observantium.

Deinde vicesimo sexto die mensis Junii anno domini M^l^ quingentesimo vicesimo quarto dictus commissarius ex certis causis animum suum moventibus visitacionem legatinam alias ad diem prorogatam et continuatam dissolvebat, prioremque dicte domus in suis officiis administracione et statu pristinis reponendo pro ut etiam tenore presentium restituit et reponit. In quorum omnibus premissorum fidem sigillum prefati reverendi domini legati de latere est presenti instrumento appensum. Datum quo ad sigilli apposicionem in edibus suis prope Westmonasterium dicto vicesimo sexto die mensis Junii anno domini quo supra.

Hec Rolandus prior propriis manibus.

Et notandum quod dominus legatus pro hujusmodi visitacione nomine procuratoris habuit XVII libras legalis monete preter et ultra victualia sibi officialibus ministrata.

APPENDIX II

William Corfill, Sacrist in 1521, Subprior in 1540.

The first 'Counsel' of Dr. Allen at his visitation was that the monks shall practise mechanical arts.[1] It is of interest, therefore, to record the obituary notice [2] of William Corfill, written by Sir Thomas Butler, vicar of Much Wenlock 1524–62: 'Here was buryed out of the Strete called Mardfold out of the Tow tenements next unto Sancte Owens Well on the same side of the well, the body of Sir Willm Corvehill Preist, of the Service of O^r^ blessed Lady St. Marie, within the Church of the holy Trinite etc. which two hows belonging to the said Service he had in his occupation, with the appertenances in part of his wages, which was viij markes, the said hows in an overplus: whose body was buryed in the chancell of our blessed Ladie before the altar under the Ston in the myddle of the said altare upon the left hande as ye treade and stand on the heighest steppe of the three before the said altare; whose fete stretch forth under the said altare to the wall in the East of the altare, the body ther lying within the Erth in a tomb of lyme and ston which he caused to be made for himselfe for that intent; after the reryng and building of the new ruff of the said Chansell, which rering framying and new reparyng of the altare and chancell was don throw the councill of the said Sir William Corvehill, who was excellently and singularly experte in dyverse of the vii liberal sciences & especially in geometre, not greatly by speculacon, but by experience; and few or non of handye crafte but that he had a very gud insight in them, as the making

[1] *Ante*, p. 142.

[2] *Shropshire Archæological Society Transactions* (Fourth Series), ix 174.

of organs, of a clock and chimes, an in kerving, in Masonrie, and weving of Silke, an in peynting; and noe instrument of Musike beyng but that he could mende it, and many gud ghifts the man had, and a very pacient man and full honeste in his conversacon and lyving; borne here in this borowe of Moche Wenlok and somtyme moncke in the monastrie of St. Myb'ge here. Two brethren he had one called Dominus John, Monke in the said Monastrie, and a Secular prieste called Sir Andrew Corvehill who dyed at Croydon beside London, on whose soule and all Christian soules Almighty God have mercy. Amen. All this contrey hath a great losse of the death of the said Sir Wm. Corvehill for he was a gud Bell fownder and a maker of the frame for bells.'

VII

THE INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH MONASTICISM BETWEEN THE TENTH AND THE TWELFTH CENTURIES

At the opening of the tenth century monasticism was at its lowest ebb in England. King Alfred's attempts to revive the regular life had failed; some of the monasteries were homes of married priests, many more were ruinous and deserted. When Edgar had come into his kingdom, and was able to fulfil the vow which he had made as a boy to restore the monasteries to their former splendour,[1] the time was ripe for success. The land had recovered from the ravages of war, and 'the three torches'[2] of the Church, Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald, were ready to guide him. However, the brief but brilliant revival was checked by national disaster. From the time of the renewed Danish invasions, monastic life steadily languished.

The result of the Norman Conquest was a great monastic revival. Under the rule of Lanfranc and their Norman abbots, the English Benedictines[3] attained a higher standard of life and of learning. Following the example of William the Conqueror, the Norman barons manifested conspicuous zeal in the founding of monasteries, and year by year the number increased. The new monastic orders, Augustinians, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Gilbertines, and others, gained numerous foundations in the course of the twelfth century. At the close, indeed, English monasticism was at its full flood. Its intellectual influence from the tenth to the twelfth century varied very much in extent and in intensity.

[1] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, p. 290 (R.S.).
[2] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, p. 25 (R.S.).
[3] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 70 (R.S.).

The Revival in the Tenth Century.

'Until Dunstan and Ethelwold revived learning in the monastic life,' wrote Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham, 'no English priest could either write a letter in Latin, or understand one.'[1] The language of exaggeration was pardonable in the monk, who viewed with enthusiasm the diffusion of education at the end of the tenth century, and thus appropriated King Alfred's description of the state of learning in his own day.[2] Alfred's high estimate of the value of education as a factor in the good government of the country,[3] and his efforts to extend it, were so far successful that even in the first half of the tenth century it was usual for children of good birth to receive some instruction. Odo, archbishop of Canterbury (942–959), was taught 'by a certain religious man while a boy in the household of the thegn Athelhelm.'[4] His friend Frithegode, to whom he entrusted the education of his nephew Oswald, was said 'to have been skilled in all the learning of that age in England, both secular and divine.'[5] The characteristics of the style of Odo[6] and Frithegode,[7] their long-winded and pretentious language, and their frequent use of Latinised Greek words, were very similar to those of the numerous charters granted in the reigns of Edward the Elder and Athelstan.[8] Moreover, the extremely technical character of the charters leads to the conclusion that there must have been some special institution for drawing them up and a number of highly trained clerks.[9] The aged priest, whom the monks of St. Albans found able to read the British books unearthed in the excavations at

[1] *Ælfrici Grammatica Latino-Saxonica*, p. 2; Appendix to *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*, ed. Somner, 1659.

[2] *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet, p. 3 (E.E.T.S.).

[3] *Asser's Life of Alfred*, ed. W. H. Stevenson, pp. 93, 94.

[4] *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, i 404 (R.S.).

[5] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, p. 21 (R.S.).

[6] *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, i 105–107.

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 107–159.

[8] *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. W. de Gray Birch, ii. *passim*, e.g. 423, 579, 895. Cf. *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 70: 'Id in omnibus antiquis cartis est animadvertere quantum quibusdam verbis abstrusis et ex Græco petitis delectentur.'

[9] *English Historical Review*, xi 731.

Verulam during the rule of Abbot Eadmer, was also well skilled in learning.[1]

It is possible, too, as Alfred had set forth as an ideal,[2] that many of the sons of freemen learnt to read in their own tongue. It was for secular men who turned to the monastic life and knew no Latin [3] that King Edgar ordered Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, to translate the Rule of St. Benedict.[4] Before the revival of learning, therefore, the teachers must have been the parish priests, and the men living in the collegiate churches and such of the older monasteries as had not been deserted after the coming of the Danes.

The lands obtained in the reigns of Edward the Elder and Athelstan by the religious houses of Wenlock,[5] Taunton,[6] Bath,[7] Abingdon,[8] Sherborne,[9] Worcester,[10] Winchester,[11] Malmesbury [12] and others shew that their inhabitants bore the name of monks and were revered as such. In reality, however, their lives appear to have differed so little from those of the secular priests that Ælfric was justified in saying that in 963 there were no monks in England except at Glastonbury and Abingdon.[13]

The church and other buildings were still standing at Glastonbury, and clerks under the name of monks dwelt within them, when Dunstan's parents brought him there to school as a little boy; and he made rapid progress in learning, quickly outstripping all the scholars of his own age.[14] He studied the Vulgate and such works of the Fathers as he found there. His masters in secular learning were the Irish scholars who came as pilgrims to Glastonbury to visit the tomb of Patrick the Younger.[15] These successors

[1] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, i 26 (R.S.).
[2] *Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet (E.E.T.S.).
[3] *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft*, ed. O. Cockayne, iii 441, 443 (R.S.)
[4] *Liber Eliensis*, ed. D. J. Stewart, p. 153 (Anglia Christiana Society).
[5] *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. W. de Gray Birch, ii 229.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 272. [7] *Ibid.* p. 351. [8] *Ibid.* p. 373.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 394. [10] *Ibid.* p. 399. [11] *Ibid.* p. 408. [12] *Ibid.* ii 423.
[13] *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, ii 259 (R.S.).
[14] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, p. 7. Dunstan was born at least as early as 910. *Cf.* F. A. Gasquet and E. Bishop, *On the Bosworth Psalter*, p. 143 (1908).
[15] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, pp. 10, 74, 256.

to Clement the Scot, Joannes Scotus, and a host of others were no doubt like them driven out from their own land by the pressure of poverty. They set up a school at Glastonbury for children of high birth, and, as was the practice in the schools of France from the time of the Carolingian revival, they asked no fees for their instruction, but relied, with good reason, on the liberality of the thegns. From these teachers, and with the help of their books, Dunstan seems to have made some study of the different branches of learning included in the Trivium and the Quadrivium.[1] Possibly, too, he acquired some knowledge of Greek. However, such learning as Dunstan's was not the common possession of other young men of his own rank, and it exposed him to the charge ' of studying the vain poems and trifling histories of ancient paganism to be a worker of magic.' [2] A serious illness following upon his disappointments at court led him to take monastic vows to which Ælfheah the Bald, bishop of Winchester, had previously urged him.[3] In or about 945 King Edmund seated him in the abbot's chair at Glastonbury.

The foreign priest B., who knew Dunstan personally, wrote the earliest biography between eight and sixteen years after his death.[4] According to him, Dunstan kept the Rule of St. Benedict, and became the first abbot of the English nation. He built a cloister and monastic offices and taught his community to live according to the Rule of St. Benedict.[5] Glastonbury was famous as a school of learning and of handicrafts in which clerks as well as monks were trained for the service of God. His most distinguished scholar was Ethelwold, who had been ordained priest with him by Ælfheah the Bald. Under Dunstan's guidance Ethelwold attained ' a generous skill in the art of grammar and the honeyed sweetness of verse,' . . . he read the Bible and ' the Catholic and most famous authors.' [6]

[1] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, p. 257. [2] *Ibid.* p. 11.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 14.
[4] *Ibid.* x–xxv, Gasquet and Bishop, *op. cit.* p. 135. On the whole subject of this monastic revival, *cf.* J. Armitage Robinson, *The Times of Saint Dunstan* (1923).
[5] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, p. 25.
[6] Wulfstan, ' Vita S. Æthelwoldi,' Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxxxvii 87.

In 953[1] Ethelwold was chosen by King Edred to be abbot of the monastery which he proposed to restore at Abingdon. His companions were five clerks: Osgar, Foldbricht and Frithegar from Glastonbury, Ordbricht from Winchester, Eadric from London. In the ten years of his rule at Abingdon he received fifty monks. Zeal for learning, the special feature of the restored monasteries of Glastonbury and Abingdon, was further strengthened by intercourse with Ghent,[2] Corbie,[3] and especially with Fleury, which, after its recent reform by Odo, second abbot of Cluny, was a model of strict Benedictine observance and famous alike for its school and library.[4]

Oswald, bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York, had profited much by his sojourn at Fleury, and soon after the founding of Ramsey Abbey in 968, 'as the study of letters and the use of schools had almost died out in England,'[5] he requested the abbot of Fleury to send a teacher to rule the schools at Ramsey. The choice fell upon Abbo, who was versed in all of the seven Arts of the Trivium and Quadrivium.[6] He spent two years at Ramsey, during which he diligently instructed the monks. For his English scholars he wrote the treatise *Quaestiones Grammaticales*,[7] with the metrical prologue, destined, as Mr. Macray has pointed out, 'to test their knowledge alike of language and astronomy.'[8] It was at the urgent request of the monks of Ramsey that he laid aside for a time the study of secular literature to write the *Passio Sancti Edmundi*. He had heard Dunstan tell the story in the Latin tongue to Ælfstan, bishop of Rochester, Ælfric, abbot of Malmesbury, and others who were standing around.[9] In his preface he pleaded the monks' insistence that his book would give pleasure to the archbishop, and would be no useless monument of so

[1] *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, ii 258.
[2] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, p. 101.
[3] *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, i 129.
[4] 'Rules for Monks and Secular Canons after the Revival under King Edgar,' by Mary Bateson, *English Historical Review*, ix 690, 691; E. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts*, i 88–91.
[5] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, p. 42.
[6] 'Vita Sancti Abbonis,' Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxxxix 390.
[7] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxxxix 521–534.
[8] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, p. xxvii.
[9] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i 3 (R.S.).

small a man as himself.[1] It seems probable, too, that Abbo wished his work to serve as a model of Latin style in the school of Ramsey and elsewhere, for, in contrast with the turgid writing of the tenth century in England, the *Passio Sancti Edmundi* has a distinct classical flavour.[2] After the manner of Livy or Cicero, Abbo attributed long speeches to the various actors in the drama, interspersing them with appropriate classical quotations. A notable exception, however, was the use by a messenger of 'parcere subjectis et debellare superbos' as a description of the conduct of the fierce Dane Inguar towards his enemies.[3] Other passages again recall the *Aeneid*.

The influence of Abbo's classical teaching at Ramsey is of considerable interest. In the Life of St. Oswald,[4] written between 995 and 1005 by a contemporary monk of Ramsey, some of the features of the *Passio Sancti Edmundi* may be observed. Like Abbo, the author was a man of considerable culture and learning, though he made a far more pedantic use of it;[5] like his master, too, he occasionally attempted to give a Virgilian flavour to his writing,[6] but the national tradition had too strong an influence over him. He could not resist the desire to reproduce the enthusiastic rhetoric of Anglo-Saxon poetry in his Latin prose, and the mystical language of the Song of Solomon appealed forcibly to him. Another of Abbo's pupils at Ramsey was Byrhtferth, who wrote commentaries on Bede's mathematical treatises: these shew that he too had read widely and was well acquainted with Latin authors.[7]

The restoration of forty monasteries[8] for men in the reigns of Edgar and his sons under the influence of Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald resulted probably in the founding of as many schools. Five of these religious houses were restored by Dunstan, eight by Ethelwold, seven by Oswald.

[1] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i 3 (R.S.).
[2] E.g. *ibid.* p. 9. 'Quem, præda facta . . . innoxios.'
[3] *Ibid.* p. 11.
[4] *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, i 399–475.
[5] E.g. *ibid.* pp. 399, 400.
[6] E.g. *ibid.* p. 413. 'Hortante . . . tripudio.'
[7] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, pp. xviii, xix.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 214. Of forty-eight, eight were for women. Cf. *Fasti Monastici ævi Saxonici*, ed. W. de Gray Birch.

The abbots were their choice. Ælfric of Malmesbury Dunstan knew to be a man 'of much religion and very great learning';[1] Wulsy, abbot of Westminster, and afterwards bishop of Sherborne, was another of his famous pupils.[2] Osgar of Abingdon, Ethelgar of New Minster, Brihtnoth of Ely, Adulf of Peterborough, were all *discipuli* of Ethelwold at Abingdon or Winchester.[3] The first bands of monks sent to Winchester, New Minster, Ely, Peterborough, and Thorney had been trained at Abingdon.[4] The same filiation can be traced in the monasteries of Mercia and East Anglia. The first twelve monks of Ramsey were sent by Oswald from Westbury with their prior, Germanus,[5] the Winchester clerk who had lived many months at Fleury. Winsig, the first prior of Worcester, was trained at Ramsey.[6]

It is difficult to interpret rightly the scanty evidence about schools. Dunstan's scholars were of all ages, from the little boy[7] to the man who had already taken priest's orders;[8] the clerks[9] of the household maintained for the services of Glastonbury by Ethelfleda were doubtless among them. Ethelwold taught in the school of his cathedral monastery of Winchester, not scorning even to explain the difficulties of Donatus and Priscian to little boys.[10] Old and young were alike his pupils,[11] and it is important to note that many of them became secular priests.[12]

Possibly in this school of the chief city of the kingdom the clerks who drew up the charters of Edgar and Æthelred received some of their education. The preambles of the charters grew longer as the century advanced,[13] and retained throughout the same characteristics of style as the earlier

[1] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, p. 302.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 304. *Cf.* also p. 209.
[3] Wulfstan, 'Vita S. Æthelwoldi,' Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxxxvii 92, 93.
[4] *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, i 348.
[5] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, p. 36.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 41.
[7] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, pp. 28, 46.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 261. [9] *Ibid.* p. 175.
[10] 'Ælfrici Grammatica Latino-Saxonica,' p. 1; Appendix to *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*, ed. Somner (1659).
[11] Wulfstan, 'Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi,' Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxxxvii 91.
[12] *Ibid.* p. 95.
[13] *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. W. de Gray Birch, iii. *passim*, e.g. pp. 308, 450, 453.

ones, the characteristics too of the writing of Ethelwold,[1] and his disciples Lantfred[2] and Wulfstan.[3]

The leaders of the monastic revival had copies[4] of the capitulary of 817, the work of the great council of abbots and monks which met on July 10 at Aix-la-Chapelle in the palace of the emperor Louis the Pious. This council sat for many days while Benedict of Aniane expounded the Rule of St. Benedict, and, in spite of some opposition, seventy-five resolutions were accepted.[5] It was laid down that none but oblates should be taught within the monastery, and that no secular clerk or layman should be lodged there.[6] It is possible to lay too much stress on these two clauses[7] by isolating them from other sources. It is related in the Life of Benedict of Aniane, written immediately after his death in 822 by his disciple Ardo, that he received clerks and monks from different places, when the monastery of Aniane, in a remote valley in Languedoc, was at the height of its fame, and he gave them a master to instruct them in sacred learning.[8] After the Council of Winchester, the influence of the capitulary of 817 is shewn in the separate school for oblates, the boys who were offered by their parents at the altar of the monastery to become monks ;[9] in the *Regularis Concordia* a glimpse of this ' school ' of boys is to be seen as they come in and go out of church with their masters.[10] At Cluny, in the eleventh century, they were kept so strictly apart that Ulric wrote : ' Whenever I saw with what zeal

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i 27.

[2] ' Miracula S. Swithuni, Wintoniensis Episcopi, per Lantfredum, Wintoniensem Monachum,' MS. Cotton, Nero E 1, fos. 33–51. For his introductory epistle cf. *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, p. 370.

[3] *Vita S. Swithuni, versibus hexametris, per Wolstanum, MS. Reg.* 15, C. vii.

[4] For a list of English manuscripts containing copies of Benedict of Aniane's ' Memoriale ' and the Epitome, the Capitulary of 817, the Rule of St. Benedict with an English translation, cf. *English Historical Review*, ix 693–695.

[5] *Consuetudines Monasticae*, ed. Albers, iii 115–144 ; E. Bishop, ' The Origin of the Prymer,' p. xviii, printed in *The Prymer*, ed. Littlehales, pt. ii, *Early English Text Society*.

[6] *Consuetudines Monasticae*, ed. Albers, iii 128, caps. xxxiii, xxxvi.

[7] G. G. Coulton, ' Monastic Schools,' *Contemporary Review*, c. iii, pp. 825, 826.

[8] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, ciii 368, cap. 31.

[9] M. P. Deroux, ' Les origines de l'Oblature bénédictine,' *Revue Mabillon*, pp. 1–16, 81–111 (1927).

[10] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i, pp. xxx, xxxi.

the boys are guarded day and night, I said in my heart it would be difficult for a king's son to be educated with greater diligence in a palace than even the smallest boy at Cluny.[1] Discipline for the oblates was less severe in English monasteries in the tenth century. The boys at Ramsey had leave from their master at certain hours in the week to play outside the cloister, and on one occasion four of them broke one of the church bells.[2] The traditional gentleness of St. Dunstan is shewn in the stories of his appearance on two occasions to protect Osbern (fl. 1090) and the schoolboys of the cathedral monastery of Canterbury from the harsh discipline of their masters.[3]

The capitularies of Charlemagne were also known to the English reformers.[4] In accordance with the capitulary of 787, schools were to be established in monasteries to counteract the ignorance of monks ;[5] the words of the later capitulary of 789 are, 'Let every abbey have its school where boys may be taught the psalms, the system of musical notation, singing, arithmetic and grammar.'[6] At the Council of Mayence, which met in 813 in the last year of Charlemagne's life, parents were commanded to send their children either to the school of the parish priest or to the monasteries to receive religious instruction.[7]

In France in the tenth century there were schools in some monasteries for clerks and the sons of nobles,[8] though possibly they had a lodging outside the precincts. There were two distinct schools at Fleury,[9] and they were well

[1] D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, ed. 1655–1677, iv 175–183.

[2] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, pp. 112, 113.

[3] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, pp. 137, 141.

[4] Among the books marked by John of Glastonbury in 1247 in the library catalogue of Glastonbury as 'Vetustissimi' were the 'Decreta Caroli et Ludovici regum.' *Joannes Glastoniensis, Chronica*, ed. T. Hearne, pp. 423, 444.

[5] Bass Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great*, pp. 97–99.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 102.

[7] U. Berlière, *L'Ordre Monastique*, ed. 1924, p. 127.

[8] Léon Maître, *Les Écoles épiscopales et monastiques en Occident avant les Universités* (768–1180), deuxième édition, 1924, *Les Archives de la France Monastique*, xxvi 51–53 ; Berlière, 'Écoles claustrales au Moyen âge,' *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, Académie Royale de Belgique*, pp. 552–554 (1921).

[9] 'Talibus ergo Abbo ortus parentibus in Floriacensi monasterio scholæ clericorum ecclesiæ Sancti Petri obsequentium traditur litteris imbuendus,' Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxxxix, 387.

known to Oswald,[1] to Germanus,[2] prior of Westbury, and Osgar,[3] who succeeded Ethelwold as abbot of Abingdon.

There is some scanty evidence to suggest that in England in the tenth century the boys who were destined to be monks and learnt to read and sing together, were taught Latin and other subjects with other boys, and by monks within the monastery. Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham, who had been a pupil of Ethelwold at Winchester, has given an interesting picture of youths coming to their master for instruction in his 'Colloquium ad pueros linguae latinae locutione exercendos.'[4] It was written down by his pupil Ælfric Bata with many additions. The chief spokesman was the lad who was already professed a monk, and his companions were ploughboys, shepherds, cowherds, hunters, fishermen, fowlers, merchants, shoemakers, salters, and bakers. The advice which the master gave to the school was this: 'Each of you should do his work as well as he can. . . . Whether you are a priest or a monk, a layman or a soldier, apply yourself to that.' It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the school was held in the monastery precincts, for the master dismissed the boys with these words: 'All you good children and clever scholars, your teacher exhorts you to keep the commandments of God, and behave properly everywhere. Walk quietly when you hear the church bells and go into church, and bow to the holy altars, and stand quietly, and sing in unison, and ask pardon for your sins and go out again without playing to the cloister or to school.'[5] It is unlikely that the schools were divided before the Norman Conquest; Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester from 1062 to 1095, was educated within the monasteries of Evesham and Peterborough; he was not an oblate, for he after-

[1] *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, i 413–419.
[2] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, p. 24.
[3] *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, ii 259.
[4] *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, ed. B. Thorpe, pp. 18–36. *Cf.* also A. F. Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents*, pp. 37–48, and xvi (1911); A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 88–91, and the criticism by A. G. Little, *English Historical Review*, xxx 525–529.
[5] Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 47. Nevertheless, in 'The Schools of Medieval England,' Mr. Leach restricts the advice to the young monks, and asserts without proof that the master was obviously a secular.

wards joined as a layman in the sports of other young men of his age.[1]

The curriculum of studies in the monastic schools included such knowledge of the Trivium and Quadrivium as was then known in England; but it must have varied greatly in the different monasteries, for throughout the Middle Ages, owing to the comparative scarcity of books, everything depended on the capacity of the individual teacher. Probably many of the scholars, especially of those who were going out into the world again, did not get beyond the Trivium, of which the most important art was grammar. The text-books used were naturally Donatus and Priscian.[2] Finding, perhaps from experience, that these were very difficult for little boys, Ælfric wrote a Saxon Latin grammar which he dedicated to them as a preparatory book.[3] Several other schoolbooks of precisely the same nature as the 'Colloquium' have been preserved:[4] they are specially interesting as illustrations of the methods of teaching languages. Many Anglo-Saxon and Latin glossaries, too, are still extant. At the end of the tenth century some knowledge of Latin seems to have been pretty widely diffused; but as Ælfric then complained of many false translations from Latin into the vernacular,[5] the zeal of the authors must have exceeded their scholarship. Ælfric shewed great anxiety, too, that the scribes who copied his books should not introduce errors into them.[6] Monks and clergy learned some arithmetic and astronomy, in order to calculate the feasts of the Church aright, and some elements of the theory of music.

The question of the teaching of Greek in the English monastic schools in the tenth century is a difficult one to

[1] Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii 244, 245, 'Willelmus Malmesbiriensis de Vita S. Wlstani episcopi Wigorniensis.' A new edition is in preparation by R. R. Darlington, and will be issued in the Camden Series of the Royal Historical Society.

[2] 'Ælfrici Grammatica Latino-Saxonica'; Appendix to *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*, ed. Somner, 1659, p. 1.

[3] *Ibid.* A. F. Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 49–51.

[4] E.g. *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft*, ed. O. Cockayne, vol. i, pp. lvi, lviii, lxiii, lxviii.

[5] Ælfric's *Homilies*, ed. B. Thorpe i 3.

[6] *Ibid.* i 9; Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, i 7 (E.E.T.S.).

answer. It has already been suggested as possible that Dunstan learnt Greek from his Irish masters. It was to a Scottish bishop of Irish birth that St. Bruno turned when he needed a Greek teacher for the palace school of Otto the Great.[1] If Dunstan had some knowledge of the language, perhaps he taught it to Ethelwold and others of his more distinguished pupils. Among the books given by Ethelwold to Peterborough was one with the title *De Literis Graecorum.*[2] On the other hand the verdict of Dietrich, the German commentator on Ælfric, is that he knew no Greek.[3] If Ethelwold taught it at Winchester it is difficult to believe that Ælfric, who spent many years in his school,[4] should not have learnt it, though he certainly pleaded that there were many in England more learned than himself.[5] There are hundreds of Greek words in numerous glossaries, and on the whole it is safer to conclude that, with rare exceptions, the knowledge of Greek was confined to these.[6]

The monastic bishops of the tenth century realized that even with the revival of about forty monasteries only a comparatively small section of the nation could receive education at schools connected with them. Moreover, with the doubtful exception of Ripon,[7] there was no monastery north of the Humber. The bulk of the people, therefore, had to depend on the parish priests, and accordingly the bishops exercised a careful supervision over them to see that the teaching imparted was as good and as suitable as possible. In this respect, too, the bishops looked back for precedents to the revival of learning under Charles the Great. They took the capitulary of Theodulf, bishop of Orleans,[8] as their guide, and the English translation was

[1] R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought*, p. 85, n. 7 (ed. 1884).
[2] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i 382.
[3] Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, vol. ii, p. xliv.
[4] *Compotus Rolls of the Obedientiaries of St. Swithun's*, ed. G. W. Kitchin, p. 175, in *Ælfric's Abridgment of St. Ethelwold's Concordia Regularis*, ed. Mary Bateson.
[5] *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. B. Thorpe, i 9.
[6] *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft*, ed. O. Cockayne, vol. i, p. lvii. Cf. *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, p. cxxii.
[7] *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, i 462.
[8] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cv 196, cap. ccxix, ccxx. *Cf.* Bass Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great*, pp. 102, 103; F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry*, 171–177 (1927).

furnished most probably by Ælfric.[1] Theodulf had laid down that every mass-priest must keep a free school for little boys, but he might receive from their relations what they were willing to give of their own accord.[2] Any priest who wished to put his nephew or any of his relations to learning at any of the churches in the bishop's charge must apply to him, and he would willingly grant his request.[3] In England some at least of the priests had had the privilege of monastic education,[4] but they were forbidden to look down on their less learned brethren,[5] or to take away their scholars from them without their consent.[6] All were commanded to teach the young diligently.[7] In no canon perhaps is the influence of Dunstan more clearly shewn than in that enjoining on every priest the knowledge of some handicraft ;[8] thereby he would increase knowledge, and by training his pupils in it he would make them useful for his Church.[9] It would be interesting to know how much the people availed themselves of the opportunities offered them for the education of their children. The indication of six days in the month on which it was good to put children to school,[10] by the author of a book of prognostics, suggests that it was a common practice, but he gave no clue to the classes of the nation for whom he was writing.

In the other countries of Western Europe in which the cathedrals were always served by secular canons there were also episcopal schools,[11] of which Chartres,[12] in the eleventh century, was the most famous. In England, in Dunstan's old age, there is some evidence of an episcopal school at Canterbury,[13] but the existence of any others is mere conjecture. It is possible that other monastic bishops of cathedrals in the possession of secular clerks gathered

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 207.
[2] c. xx.
[3] *Ibid.* c. xix.
[4] *Cf. ante* p. 152, note 12.
[5] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 226, cap. xii.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 225, cap. x.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 228, cap. li.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 225, cap. xi.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 228, cap. li.
[10] *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft*, ed. O. Cockayne, iii. 185, 187, 189, 191, 193.
[11] Léon Maître, *Les Écoles épiscopales et monastiques en Occident*, 768–1180, *passim*.
[12] R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought*, p. 113 (ed. 1884); F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry*, pp. 257, 258.
[13] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i 3. Cf. *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, p. lvii.

scholars around them. Elfweard, bishop of London (1035–1044), previously monk of Ramsey and abbot of Evesham, Etheric and Eadnoth, two Ramsey monks, who succeeded each other as bishops of Dorchester (1016–1034 ; 1034–1050), were perhaps among them.

Episcopal schools which depend on individual bishops must be carefully distinguished from schools attached to secular cathedrals. Nothing is known of any schools attached to collegiate churches, whether of cathedral dignity or not, during the monastic revival in the reigns of Edgar and his sons. After the Danish conquest collegiate churches again became popular, and Canute favoured them as well as the monasteries.[1] He has indeed been praised by later monastic authors as a promoter of education. Writing before 1090, Hermann of Bury stated that Canute supported boys at both collegiate and monastic schools.[2] Abbot Samson of Bury (1182–1211), who had been a schoolmaster, credited Canute with the foundation of a number of grammar schools.[3] Between thirty and forty churches for secular canons are registered in Domesday Book, and a number of these were founded in the reign of Edward the Confessor.[4] It seems probable that, as at Waltham and at Warwick,[5] a school was included in these foundations.

The contents of the English monastic libraries are very suggestive. In the catalogue made by John of Glastonbury of the library in 1247,[6] a considerable number of books are marked as 'vetustissimi.' Many of these were written in English, some of them are set down as useless, others as illegible. It may be concluded, therefore, that these formed the library of the monastery before the Norman Conquest and that most of them were written at the period of its greatest literary activity under Dunstan[7] and his immediate successors. These books included copies of the Bible

[1] W. Hunt, *A History of the English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest*, p. 394.
[2] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i 46.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 126.
[4] *The Foundation of Waltham Abbey*, ed. W. Stubbs, p. vi.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 15. *Cf.* A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England*, p. 77 (1915).
[6] *Joannes Glastoniensis, Chronica*, ed. T. Hearne, pp. 423–444.
[7] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 196.

and of its separate books in Latin and in English, many with glosses, some of the works of the Fathers and of the Carolingian theologians, the historical and theological works of Bede, the writings of Alcuin and Aldhelm, some collections of the older canons, several books of English sermons, many lives of the saints, medical treatises, and the usual text-books such as Donatus and Priscian. The investigation of the sources used by Ælfric justifies the belief that much the same set of books was contained in the Winchester library.[1] From Glastonbury and Winchester many other monastic libraries would be supplied.[2] A few similar books in English form a separate entry in the catalogue of the library of the cathedral monastery of Canterbury made during the rule of Prior Henry of Eastry, not long after 1300.[3] Others were still in the library of Bury St. Edmunds in the fifteenth century.[4] The English Church alone of all national Churches in the tenth and the first half of the eleventh centuries had an extensive ecclesiastical vernacular literature.[5] Leofric's endowment of his cathedral church of Exeter with sixty books, of which twenty-eight were English, affords some idea of the number then written.[6]

The English scholars seem to have resolutely devoted themselves as a religious duty to the diffusion of such knowledge as they possessed. Though the search after more learning must have been a temptation to such a receptive mind as that of Ælfric, he evidently thought that his brethren were wrong in not resisting it.[7] It is noticeable, however, that they contributed nothing to the advancement of learning. In theology they pursued the uncritical methods of Bede and Alcuin without any regard for new developments abroad.[8] Their conservatism was so strong that no

[1] *Cf.* Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, vol. ii, p. xlv.
[2] For Peterborough, *cf.* Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i 382.
[3] M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, pp. xxv–xxviii, 51.
[4] M. R. James, 'On the Library of the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury,' *Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, xxviii 5, 69, 70, 74.
[5] H. Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie im XI. und XII Jahrhundert*, p. 58.
[6] (1045–1072), *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxxiii 63.
[7] *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. B. Thorpe, i 7.
[8] *Cf.* H. Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie*, p. 58.

single instance is known of any scholar like Agobard of Lyons,[1] or Claudius of Turin,[2] who protested against the growth of superstition.

In striking contrast with the contemporary revival in Germany, there was no trace of any opposition in England to the traditional teaching of the Church. The very isolation of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom secluded it from the contact with Oriental heretics, which probably kindled the flame abroad.[3] Indeed the authority of the Fathers, of Bede, and of the Carolingian theologians, was incontestable. In all the writing of Ælfric only one instance of a doubt occurs, in the story of the vengeance of St. Thomas,[4] and in this respect Ælfric was a follower of St. Augustine. He held his peace about the chief source of his 'Lives of the Saints,' the *Vitae Patrum*, for fear that it should prove a stumbling-block to others.[5] With the dread of heresy before him, Ælfric translated 'sense for sense'[6] instead of word for word, and he entreated Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury (990–994), to correct anything which savoured of error.[7] His views on the Eucharist,[8] which were triumphantly quoted by Protestant writers at the Reformation, were taken directly from the work of Ratramnus, which was not generally recognized as heretical until the controversy between Berengar of Tours and Lanfranc.[9] Ælfric ignored the speculative interest of the doctrine of predestination which in the middle of the ninth century had divided French scholars into two camps.[10] As a follower of the teaching of Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mainz, he regarded only the dangerous tendencies of the extreme views set forth by Gottschalk.[11]

There was no general belief in England that the world

[1] R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought*, pp. 38–46 (ed. 1884).
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 30–39.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 90, 91.
[4] *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. B. Thorpe, ii. 521.
[5] Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, i 4.
[6] *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. B. Thorpe, i 1.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 3.
[8] *Ibid.* ii 263–287.
[9] H. Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie*, p. 61, note 4.
[10] R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought*, p. 51 (ed. 1884).
[11] Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, i 379–383.

would come to an end in the year 1000.[1] It is possible, however, that there was some discussion of the subject; for in 971 the writer of one of the Blickling Homilies insisted that the time of the second coming of the Saviour was withheld from the knowledge of men.[2] He[3] and others too naturally expressed the current medieval belief that the day of doom was drawing nigh, and saw in the events of their own day the realization of Christ's prophecies.

The patriotism and public spirit pervading the English monasteries generated that keen interest in historical study which manifested itself in the vigorous and detailed continuations of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle at Winchester,[4] Abingdon, Evesham, Peterborough, and elsewhere, and in a series of contemporary ecclesiastical biographies from which we derive the greater part of our knowledge of the reigns of Edgar and his sons. The monastic authors before the Norman Conquest were providing materials for a later school of historical writers, but at the same time it is interesting to note that the one attempt at a general history was the chronicle of the ealdorman Ethelweard,[5] a layman and a friend of Ælfric.

No improvement in the Latin style of English writers resulted from the revival of learning in the monasteries. As none of the writings of Dunstan are extant, his style cannot be justly estimated; yet if it differed greatly from that of his contemporaries it would be singular that none of his pupils should shew any traces of his influence.[6] Ethelwold's style was marked by obscurity and the frequent use of Greek words.[7] Ælfric alone escaped. Doubtless his constant aim to write plain English gave his Latin style the

[1] *Cf.* H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, i 31; G. L. Burr, 'The Year 1000 and the Antecedents of the Crusades,' *American Historical Review* (1901), pp. 429–439.

[2] *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. Morris, pt. i, p. 118.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 106, 116.

[4] R. L. Poole, *Chronicles and Annals*, pp. 43–49 (1926).

[5] *Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum post Bedam*, ed. H. Saville, pp. 473–483.

[6] *Cf.* the collection of letters in appendix to *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, *e.g.* pp. 361, 399.

[7] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. i, pp. xxvii–xlv. For the authorship of the 'Regularis Concordia' cf. *Ælfric's Abridgment of St. Ethelwold's Concordia Regularis*, ed M. Bateson, an appendix to *Compotus Rolls of the Obedientiaries of St. Swithun's*, ed. G. W. Kitchin, p. 175; J. Armitage Robinson, *The Times of St. Dunstan*, pp. 143–158.

qualities of clearness and simplicity. William of Malmesbury's comment on the false canons of style of prae-Norman monastic writers is worthy of observation. 'They are importunate judges,' he said, 'who are ignorant that methods of expression vary according to the customs of nations. In a word, the Greeks write "involute," the Romans "splendide," the English "pompatice."'[1]

An attempt to fathom the mind of the people, and to note the effect of such education and teaching as they received through the influence of the Church, is of some interest. The manifold denunciations in sermons of the sin of witchcraft[2] bear witness to a strong belief in heathen superstitions. The stories of St. Dunstan and his several conflicts with the devil[3] merely illustrate the universal belief in the power and material presence of Satan and his army of evil spirits.[4] Under pressure of the Church laws were passed against sorcerers and magicians, but their frequent recurrence shewed the prevalence of the practice of divination.[5] The Church, however, only gave the people other superstitions in exchange. The use of the sign of the cross was recommended as an infallible remedy against demons;[6] the talisman was consecrated by the Church, not forbidden.[7] The growth of relic worship was fostered by the monastic revival.[8] At first it seems to have been due to extreme reverence for the saints, but even then it led to conflicts between monasteries.[9]

Another side of the intellectual influence of English monasticism before the Norman Conquest is to be seen in

[1] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis De Gestis Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 344.

[2] Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, i. 371. Cf. *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. Morris, pt. i, p. 60.

[3] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, pp. 20, 27.

[4] *Cf.* W. H. Lecky, *History of the Rise of Rationalism*, i 37, 38 (ed. 1887); F. J. E. Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry*, pp. 121–123.

[5] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i 206, 'De Veneficiis' at the Council of Greatanlea in 928, p. 287, 'Ut sagae, incantatores etc. exulent' at Council of Eynsham in 1009, p. 306, in 'Leges Ecclesiasticae Canuti Regis.'

[6] *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. Morris, pt. i, p. 46, and Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, ii 371.

[7] *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. Morris, pt. i, p. 126.

[8] *E.g.* the translation of St. Swithun by Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester.

[9] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, pp. 127, 128, and *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, ii. 280.

the political ideal set before the nation. In this respect, too, there is a remarkable contrast with the developments generated by the Cluniac movement on the Continent. The theories of the autonomy of the Church within the State, of the independence of monasticism within the Church, of the world supremacy of the Pope, were unknown in England. In the absence of any speculative discussion of political theory it is only possible to deduce it from the consistent policy of Dunstan and his successors. As the English bishops were almost invariably monks until Canute began the practice of appointing clerks of the Royal Chapel, the influence of the Church may fairly be called monastic.

The ecclesiastical independence of the English Church was very conspicuous. Though from the tenth century the archbishops went to Rome to fetch their palls, it was at first the continuance of a traditional custom rather than the expression of definite subjection to the Papal See. As Dunstan received his pall from so infamous a pope as John XII.,[1] it is not surprising to find that he disregarded a papal dispensation in a matrimonial case, and succeeded in forcing his own view on both Edgar and the recalcitrant noble.[2] In questions of Church organization expediency triumphed over papal decrees; Oswald and his successors held the sees of Worcester and York jointly without any sanction of the Papacy. Although the older collections of canons were not unknown,[3] English ecclesiastical law was far more national than that of the Continent.[4] No single mention of the Papacy occurred in the canons of Edgar or Ælfric, or at the Council of Eynsham; only one in the laws of Æthelred,[5] which was merely repeated in the laws of Canute.[6] The feast days of St. Dunstan and St. Edmund were decreed by the Witan.[7]

The legislation of the Witan illustrated the powerful influence of the bishops. Their ideal was an independent

[1] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, p. 296.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 67, 106, 200, 301. [3] *Ibid.* p. cxii.
[4] Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie*, p. 45. *Cf.* Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 225–239, 245, 250–255, 286–292, 295, 296, 299–305.
[5] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, ed. B. Thorpe, p. 147, Æthelred, ix 26.
[6] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i 307, cap. x.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 303, cap. xvii.

theocratic State, a strong united kingdom.[1] Within this State the power of the Church should be more and more direct, the secular laws should be inspired by the ethical spirit of Christianity, the State should co-operate with the Church in the appointment of bishops and abbots [2] and in the making of ecclesiastical laws.[3] It was a practical ideal, and the laws of Edgar, Æthelred, and Canute shew how far it was attained; but the close interdependence of Church and State involved the decline of one with the other.

The Effects of the Norman Conquest.

'Zeal for letters and religion had grown cold many years before the coming of the Normans.'[4] The frequent and terrible ravages of the Danes recorded in the pages of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from 980 to 1016 proved fatal to the revival of monasticism; it was impossible for learning to flourish among men who lived in daily fear of the coming of the pirate host. When Canute had established peace and restored the monasteries which had suffered in the struggle, the older generation had passed away and their successors did not attain their level. Abbot Leofsin (1029–1045) of Ely set much store by learning,[5] but elsewhere, apparently, there was a general decline. In 1066 it was too early to see any real results of Edward the Confessor's attempts to draw the Church into closer relations with the Papacy [6] and to rekindle the desire for a stricter life by the introduction of foreign abbots and monks.[7] The flourishing state of the Church in Normandy [8] and the conspicuous learning alike of monasteries and cathedrals justified the scorn of the

[1] *Cf.* Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, i. 4.

[2] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. i, p. xxviii. For several instances *cf.* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *e.g.* in 1043.

[3] W. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i 263 (ed. 1891).

[4] William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, ii 304.

[5] *Liber Eliensis*, ed. D. J. Stewart, p. 200.

[6] E.g. *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, p. 170; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i 690.

[7] *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, ed. H. R. Luard, p. 414; *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i 56; *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, vol. i, p. lii.

[8] H. Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie*, pp. 3–42.

Normans for the intellectual condition of the conquered nation. The difference between the two standards is aptly illustrated in the case of Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester (1062–1095). Though educated within the monasteries of Evesham and Peterborough, and at Worcester schoolmaster, prior, bishop in succession,[1] in 1078 he was threatened with deposition by Lanfranc on the charge of ignorance: he neither knew nor cared to know 'the fables of the poets and the tortuous syllogisms of dialecticians.'[2]

William's policy of substituting Norman rulers in English bishoprics and abbeys was political, but through Lanfranc's aid it was destined to raise the intellectual condition of the monasteries. The men who succeeded the English abbots were chosen for their religion and learning from the great Norman houses:[3] Paul of St. Albans (1077–1097)[4] came from Caen, Godfrey of Malmesbury (1081–1105)[5] from Jumièges, Scotland of St. Augustine's, Canterbury (1070–1087), from Mont St. Michel.[6] So rapid was the process that although thirteen out of twenty-one abbots who signed the decrees of the Council of London in 1075 were English, only three still held office at the accession of William Rufus.[7] At the same time there was a great increase in the number of monastic foundations in England. Between 1066 and 1135 three monastic cathedrals, thirteen important monasteries for women, eleven for men, seventeen Cluniac priories, sixty cells for other French houses, besides many for English houses, were founded.[8] These provided for a large number of French abbots and monks; *e.g.* the first monks of Battle came from Marmoutier,[9] those of St. Pancras

[1] Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii 244–249, 'Willelmus Malmesbiriensis de Vita S. Wlstani Episcopi Wigorniensis.' A new and complete edition will be issued shortly in the Camden Series of the Royal Historical Society, edited by R. R. Darlington.

[2] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis De Gestis Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 279.

[3] For a very full list *cf.* H. Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie*, pp. 107, 108, notes; *Medieval England*, ed. H. W. C. Davis, pp. 354, 355 (1924).

[4] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, i 52.

[5] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis De Gestis Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 279.

[6] Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Le Prévost, ii 209.

[7] H. Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie*, p. 107.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 113, note 1.

[9] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, iii 233.

at Lewes with their Prior Lanzo from Cluny.[1] As life in the Norman monasteries was everywhere more or less modelled on that of Cluny, the Norman abbots of English Benedictine houses, like Paul of St. Albans,[2] very readily accepted the constitutions which Lanfranc drew up for his own cathedral monastery. A study of the customs of Cluny proves that Lanfranc drew his constitutions [3] from them, and also throws much light upon subjects familiar enough to his contemporaries, but somewhat obscure to-day. It may be that they served the same purpose then as now, for there was a copy of the Customs of Cluny at Glastonbury in 1247.[4]

Under the rule of Abbot Hugh (1048–1109) Cluny was at the real zenith of its greatness. A special feature of life at Cluny was the substitution of extra services in church and more time for study for the daily manual labour prescribed in the Rule of St. Benedict.[5] The obligation was considered fulfilled by an occasional day given to manual labour by the abbot and the whole convent, when beans required to be stripped of their leaves, or there was much weeding to be done.[6] The same system was adopted by Lanfranc, and prevailed in England. There is no trace of any compulsory daily manual labour in the extant customs of Benedictine houses; the various officers had servants under them who carried out their commands.

William of Malmesbury held that without a revival of learning other monastic reforms were vain,[7] and all records shew that he only expressed the general opinion of his contemporaries, more tersely put in another oft-quoted saying, 'Claustrum sine armario castrum sine armamentario.'[8] Accordingly the first care of the Norman abbots was to increase the libraries. At St. Albans Abbot Paul assigned

[1] *Ante*, pp. 40, 91.
[2] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, i 52.
[3] Cf. *ante*, p. 8.
[4] *Joannes Glastoniensis, Chronica*, ed. T. Hearne, p. 435.
[5] *Cf.* Pignot, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny*, iii 411; Deroux, 'Les Origines de l'Oblature Bénédictine,' *Revue Mabillon*, pp. 193–217 (1927); Berlière, *L'Ordre Monastique* (ed. 1924), pp. 194–196.
[6] D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, iv 78–80.
[7] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis De Gestis Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 249.
[8] Martène et Durand, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, i 511.

certain tithes in Hatfield and Redbourn for the writing of books and built a scriptorium in which hired writers copied the manuscripts lent him by Lanfranc.[1] The scriptorium continued a special object of interest to his successors.[2] Simon de Gorham (1167–1183) instituted the custom that the abbot should always maintain one writer at his own expense.[3] The list of the books written by his orders was too long for the chronicler to set down.[4] Until the thirteenth century St. Albans was fortunate in a succession of learned abbots. Geoffrey of Maine (1119–1146) was summoned from over the sea to take charge of the grammar school connected with the monastery,[5] Warin (1183–1195) was a master of the University of Salerno,[6] John de Cella (1195–1214) a master of Paris, 'in Grammar esteemed a Priscian, in Verse an Ovid, in Physic a Galen.'[7]

At Malmesbury Abbot Godfrey (1081–1105) devoted himself to the formation of a library in which William of Malmesbury was privileged to be his assistant. He found the monks able only to stammer the vulgar tongue and totally ignorant. Under his rule the learning of the monastery equalled any other in England and surpassed many.[8] As William of Malmesbury was educated from early years within the monastery, the books used by him afford some idea of the extent of the library.[9] Under John of Tours, bishop of Bath (1088–1123), a physician skilled not only in knowledge but by practice, the 'dull and barbarous' monks of Bath became renowned for learning.[10] William of Malmesbury described the monastery of Thorney as 'divinorum philosophorum gimnasia.'[11] At Abingdon Abbot Faricius (1100–1117) opened a scriptorium in which hired writers produced books for the library; many treatises

[1] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, i 57.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 76; C. Jenkins, *The Monastic Historian*, pp. 24–29 (1922).
[3] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, i 192.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 184.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 73.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 194.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 217.
[8] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis De Gestis Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 431.
[9] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis De Gestis Regum*, ed. W. Stubbs, vol. i, pp. xx–xxii.
[10] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis De Gestis Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 194. He left his whole library to the monks of Bath. *Cf.* Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii 268.
[11] *De Gestis Pontificum*, p. 327.

on medicine were included among them.[1] At Canterbury in the cathedral monastery of Christ Church and at the abbey of St. Augustine there were very large libraries.[2] Evidences of other monastic libraries and of endowments of scriptoria might be multiplied.

A comparative collection of extant library catalogues would throw much light on the state of learning within the monasteries until the end of the twelfth century.[3] These [4] shew that the chief study was theology, both positive and contemplative. Notable works of contemporaries were rapidly acquired. Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* was a usual possession; both Durham and Rochester had a copy of Gilbert de la Porrée's 'Commentary on the Psalter'; the 'Sermons of St. Bernard' were at Peterborough, at Durham, Canterbury, and, in 1150, at Whitby; the 'Meditations of St. Anselm' at Peterborough and Durham. In Becket's bequest to Canterbury was a copy of the 'Polycraticon' and 'Metalogicon' of John of Salisbury, probably presented to him by the author. Great importance was attached to a knowledge of the canon law [5] on account of the number of appeals to Rome. The Decretals of Ivo of Chartres,

[1] *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, ii 44, 289.

[2] M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. xix.

[3] *Historical Introduction to the Rolls Series*, by W. Stubbs, p. 437; H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. ii, pt. ii. p. 476.

[4] For the catalogue of Durham of the first half of the twelfth century cf. *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm.*, pp. 1–10 (Surtees Society); for the catalogue of Whitby in 1150 *cf.* Charlton, *History of Whitby*, pp. 112–114; for the catalogue of Rochester in 1202 cf. *A Memorial of the Priory at St. Andrew at Rochester*, by W. B. Rye. The list of books written during the rule of Benedict, abbot of Peterborough (1177–1193), is in Sparke, *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Varii*, ii 98. For the catalogue of the Glastonbury library in 1247 cf. *Joannes Glastoniensis, Chronica*, ed. T. Hearne, pp. 423–444. For a fragment of a catalogue of the library of the cathedral monastery of Canterbury, about 1170, *cf.* M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, pp. xxix–xxxv, 7–12; for lists of books given by Thomas Becket, Herbert of Boseham, and Richard, the archbishop's chaplain, *ibid.* pp. xxxix, 82–85, 88. For a list of manscripts in libraries to-day, written in the twelfth and earlier centuries, which were in the library of Bury St. Edmund's in the fifteenth century, *cf.* M. R. James, 'On the Library of the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury,' *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Publications*, xxviii 42–89, *passim*. It is interesting to compare these catalogues with the catalogue of the library of Cluny in the twelfth century; *cf.* L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds de Cluny*, pp. 337–382 (circa 1158–1161).

[5] *Cf.* H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, i. 140, 141.

written about 1115, were found everywhere; the Decretals of Gratian, completed about 1142, at Canterbury, Rochester, Peterborough, and Durham. In the second half of the twelfth century,[1] participation in the vigorous study of Roman law in England was shewn at Canterbury, St Albans [2] and at Peterborough, the latter possessed the *Institutiones Justiniani cum autenticis et Infortiato, Digestum vetus, Tres partes cum digesto novo,* and *Totum corpus juris in duobus voluminibus.* The books of the 'Organon,' which were not in circulation until the middle of the twelfth century in Western Europe,[3] were at Rochester in 1202, at Glastonbury in 1247. At Durham and at Rochester there were large collections of books on medicine, and some at least were included in every catalogue. At Canterbury there were books on topography, *Liber de situ Jerusalem* and *Liber de situ Cluniacensi.* If the use of the books had been confined to the monks, there would not be so much justification for an analysis of the contents of the libraries. Wandering scholars who sought the hospitality of the monasteries might gather materials for their books.[4] Possibly Gervase of Tilbury studied at Canterbury when he returned to England to the court of Henry II soon after 1177.[5] He appears to have been brought up at Rome, he studied and taught law at Bologna, and witnessed the meeting in Venice between the Emperor Frederick I and Pope Alexander III. The remarkable book which Gervase wrote in later years for the Emperor Otho IV, the *Otia Imperialia,* includes an account of Britain and a summary history to the reign of John, and a vivid personal sketch of the young King Henry; he loved him greatly, and grieved over his death at Martel in 1183.[6] The work is a treatise on universal history and geography, beginning with the creation of the world.[7] There is a notable description of

[1] *Cf.* H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages,* vol. ii, par. ii, p. 336, note 2.

[2] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani,* ed. H. T. Riley, i 196.

[3] *Cf.* H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages,* i 61.

[4] W. Stubbs, *Lectures on Medieval and Modern History,* pp. 166–172.

[5] *Dictionary of National Biography,* xxi 241.

[6] 'De Britannia Majori,' *Ralph of Coggeshall, etc.,* ed. J. Stevenson, pp. 419–499. (Rolls Series.) Cf. *post,* p. 218.

[7] *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicensium,* ed. G. G. Leibnitz, i 881–1004, ii 751–784 (1707).

the city of Rome with its three hundred and sixty-one towers, forty-nine castles, its gates, bridges, and triumphal arches, and another description of Jerusalem and the Holy Land. It is also a miscellany of odd scraps of knowledge and of marvels. In a chapter 'De facie Mosis cornuta' Gervase quoted Exodus xxxiv 29, and he wrote it probably because he had seen a manuscript in which Moses was represented with horns on his head, as for instance in the great Bible written and painted for the monastery of Bury (1121–1148) [1] and a psalter written for a nun of Shaftesbury.[2]

The customs of several Benedictine houses, which may fairly be taken to represent the usual practice in the twelfth century, shew that books were lent on an adequate security to persons in general.[3] The characteristic unscrupulousness of the book-borrower in all ages necessitated some provision against the abuse of his privileges. At Abingdon the precentor could not sell, give away or pledge any books [4]; he might only lend one on the deposit of a pledge of equal or greater value than the book itself. Even under these circumstances only neighbouring churches or persons of conspicuous worth might borrow. No doubt experience prompted the writer to add 'It is safer to fall back on a pledge than to proceed against an individual.' At Eynsham,[5] perhaps, the library had suffered fewer losses. At any rate for a sum of money books might be lent by the precentor to persons known or unknown, though sometimes the consent of the abbot, prior or chapter was necessary. In this monastery the precentor might sell books for a price. At Evesham,[6] provided a proper and sufficient voucher was given, any person might borrow.

The lending of books for an equivalent pledge was the

[1] E. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Centuries*, p. 36, plate xxxviii (1926).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 32, plate xxxii.

[3] J. Willis Clark, *The Care of Books*, p. 74; for a list of seventeen books on loan to seculars from the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, in 1337, *cf.* M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, pp. 148, 149.

[4] *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, ii 374–378.

[5] MS. Bodley 435, cap. xv, sect. viii.

[6] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii. 39.

general practice among the Augustinian [1] and Premonstratensian canons,[2] and therefore the foundation of over a hundred and thirty Augustinian houses, of which some were noted for learning, and of twenty-one Premonstratensian houses before the end of the twelfth century added largely to the number of public libraries. The Carthusians also lent books,[3] but in England only the monastery at Witham was founded before 1200. There was no provision among the Cistercians,[4] at least in the twelfth century in England, for the lending of books outside the order. Probably at that time their libraries were too small and unimportant to allow of it, but their subsequent growth has been carefully traced through the provision of book-rooms.[5] In this respect too the Gilbertines followed the Cistercians ; the rule merely allowed the lending of books to other houses of the same order.[6]

Another purpose served by the library was that of furnishing books for the use of the master of the grammar school connected with the monastery.[7]

At Bec, the model of other Norman monasteries, the schools for oblates and young monks were entirely distinct from that opened by Lanfranc for the sons of the barons and for clerks.[8] At Cluny, in 1150, a hostel was being maintained at the expense of the monastery for clerks of noble birth, who attended the school in the town,[9] and such schools are known to have existed in other French towns in which there were Cluniac houses.[10] There can be little doubt that in England the separation of the schools was a feature of the Benedictine revival and that after the Norman Conquest the school for novices within the monastery was

[1] *Customs of Augustinian Canons*, ed. J. W. Clark, p. 62 ; J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books*, p. 71.

[2] *Statuta primaria Praemonstratensis Ordinis*, cap. vii, p. 803 ; *cf.* Le Paige, *Bibliotheca Prem. Ord.* (ed. 1633).

[3] *Guigonis Prioris Carthusiae Statuta* (ed. 1510), *Statuta Antiqua*, pt. ii, cap. xvi 9.

[4] P. Guignard, *Les Monuments primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne*, p. 237.

[5] J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books*, pp. 86–89.

[6] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. xxxv.

[7] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, i 196.

[8] *Lanfranci Opera Omnia*, ed. Giles, i 296. Cf. *L'Abbaye du Bec et ses Écoles*, par M. L'Abbé Porée.

[9] Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, clxxxix 1051.

[10] J. H. Pignot, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny*, ii 414.

no longer open to secular clerks or to laymen. There were grammar schools probably in many towns in the twelfth century,[1] and in those towns in which Benedictine or Augustinian monasteries were the dominant power, it is probable that they took a strong interest in the grammar school, which was in some way dependent upon them. In some cases the endowment may have been provided or supplemented out of an abbot's revenues, in others a founder may have put the monastery in the position of trustees like a body of governors at the present day.

Such relations between the grammar school and the monastery are shewn at St. Albans and at Bury St. Edmunds. The master was a secular scholar, chosen by the abbot or some other officer of the monastery. In the three instances known of the appointments at St. Albans, the choice fell upon men of high intellectual attainments. Geoffrey of Maine was summoned from abroad by Richard, the second Norman abbot (1097–1119).[2] As he did not arrive in time he lost the post, and until it should again fall vacant he became master of the school at Dunstable. Under the rule of Abbot Warin (1183–1195) the mastership of the school was held first by Alexander Neckham,[3] a master of the University of Paris, and afterwards for many years with conspicuous success by the abbot's nephew, Warin, a master of Salerno.[4]

Abbot Samson's (1182-1211) endowment of five marks towards the payment of the master,[5] and his provision of free lodgings for scholars attending the grammar school at Bury,[6] were intended to put higher education within the reach of the poorest. Rich and poor alike might live in his hostel, and forty poor boys paid no fee at all for their teaching.[7] His policy was evidently regarded by his biographer as the outcome of his own experience. As a

[1] *Cf.* H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. ii, pt. ii, p. 600, note 2.
[2] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, i 73. *Cf.* A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 116–118.
[3] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, i 196. *Cf.* H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, i 323.
[4] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, i 196.
[5] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i 296.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 249.
[7] MS. Harl. 1005, fo. 126.

poor clerk he had been indebted to William, master of the school of Diss in Norfolk, for leave to attend without any payment.[1] At the University of Paris he had been supported by a chaplain from the profits of the sale of holy water.[2] On his return to England his precarious existence as a schoolmaster, not even sure of five or six marks a year, led him to become a monk of Bury,[3] and probably for the same reason other schoolmasters[4] too were among the brethren over whom he was abbot. However, the consideration for poor scholars and schoolmasters alike which marked Alexander III's decree,[5] issued at the Lateran Council in 1179, warrants a belief that Samson acted upon it. The decree was certainly promulgated in England[6] and generally known.[7] At a later date there were schools on two other manors belonging to Bury St. Edmund's, at Beccles and at Mildenhall,[8] to which officials of the monastery appointed the master.

There are instances of similar relations between houses of Augustinian canons. In some instances, as at Waltham,[9] Huntingdon,[10] St. Gregory's Canterbury,[11] Christ Church Twyneham,[12] and at Bedford,[13] where they took the place of secular canons, they inherited the rights of the secular canons over the schools and their responsibilities. At Dunstable Henry I handed over the schools of the town to their charge.[14] Alexander Neckham was master there

[1] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i 248.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 247. [3] *Ibid.* p. 241.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 324.
[5] Labbe, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio*, ed. Cossart, xxii 227. *Cf.* the Lateran Council of 1215, xxii 999, cap. xi.
[6] Cf. *Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, ii 179, and William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. R. Howlett, i 219.
[7] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i 498, 555.
[8] MS. Harl. 1005, fo. 102^{v}. Cf. *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, iii 182.
[9] *The Foundation of Waltham Abbey*, ed. W. Stubbs, pp. 15, 35.
[10] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. i, p. 79.
[11] *Circa* 1085 Lanfranc founded the collegiate church of St. Gregory at Canterbury for six secular canons; 'scolas urbis et viculorum ejus tam grammatice quam musice regi debere statuentes earum regimen prepositis sacerdotum ipsius ecclesie et eorum dispositioni commisimus,' Appendix to H. Böhmer, *Die Fälschungen Erzbischof Lanfrancs von Canterbury*, p. 174; *Victoria County History, Kent*, ii 157, 158.
[12] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. i, pp. 304, 305.
[13] A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 121, 122.
[14] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. i, p. 240.

before he went to St. Albans.[1] There are isolated instances of boys who received their early education in monasteries of Augustinian canons; Gilbert de Gant, the son of the founder of Bridlington, spent his early years within the priory,[2] Thomas Becket was with the canons of Merton.[3]

There is no evidence that the Cistercians in the twelfth century made any provision for secular education, nor would this have been consistent with their general policy. They planted their churches in remote and desolate places, far from human habitation; unlike the Benedictines who frequently allowed their naves to be used as parish churches, the Cistercians reserved theirs for their lay brethren.[4] The Gilbertine canons also were forbidden by their founder to teach any boys except novices in any of the double houses of the order.[5]

The standard of education in the grammar schools of collegiate churches and of monasteries must have varied greatly. In some instruction was limited to grammar and the rudiments of logic, in others the subjects of higher education were imparted.[6] It may be fairly conjectured that in the schools connected with the greater monasteries, in which learning steadily increased, the standard rose with the appointment of masters who had studied at the universities of Paris and Salerno, and possibly of Bologna too. However, after the rise of the universities, the education given in grammar schools in their neighbourhood, and possibly afterwards elsewhere, would be more or less elementary.[7]

Although after the Norman Conquest heathen beliefs were not nearly so prevalent, yet no progress was made in the direction of rationalism. The multiplication of miracles

[1] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, i. 196; A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 116, 117.

[2] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. i, p. 280.

[3] *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. J. C. Robertson, iii 14.

[4] W. H. St. John Hope, *The Abbey of St. Mary in Furness*, pp. 34, 35.

[5] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. i, p. xliii.

[6] *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. J. C. Robertson, iii 4. *Cf.* J. H. Round, *The Commune of London*, p. 117.

[7] H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. ii, pt. ii, pp. 601, 476. *Cf.* Bass Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to 1535*, p. 70; for an opposite view, *cf.* A. F. Leach, *op. cit.* pp. 136–140.

which occurred, especially in monastic churches, and the magnifying of their importance by monastic writers promoted the growth of superstition. The scorn of the Normans for English saints[1] was only an expression of their contempt for the subject race, and by degrees it evaporated. In spite of Lanfranc's rationalistic theory as to the nature and object of miracles, set forth in his popular *Elucidarium sive Dialogus de Summa totius Christianae Theologiae*,[2] there was a vast increase in the number recorded throughout this period.[3] An instance of the result of this general belief in miracles is shewn in the ease with which, in 1201, some of the country people received two impostors as St. Nicholas and St. Andrew.[4]

There were a number of doctors within the English monasteries. At Bury Hermann related how Herfast, bishop of Thetford (1070–1086), was cured of an injury to his eye by the skill of Abbot Baldwin (1065–1098) and through the virtue of the bones of St. Edmund.[5] When Baldwin was in Normandy, as physician of William the Conqueror, he had some relic of St. Edmund with him.[6] In the time of Abbot Samson (1182–1211), Master Walter was a renowned doctor, and gained much money for the monastery by his cures.[7] Other instances of monks skilled in the practice of physic might be mentioned, among them Faricius, Abbot of Abingdon (1100–1117).[8] Towards the end of Henry II's reign four English monks of St. Albans were masters of the University of Salerno,[9] which was

[1] *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, ii 284: 'Ad tantum [Abbas Ethelelmus] etiam devolutus est ut prohiberet ne aliqua memoria neque memoratio fieret de sancto Athelwoldo, neque de sancto Edwardo; dixit enim esse Anglicos rusticos nec etiam debere ecclesias quas ibi fundaverunt.' Cf. *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis De Gestis Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 420; Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, ed. M. Rule, pp. 350–353. For Lanfranc's changes in the Calendar at Christ Church, Canterbury, *cf.* F. A. Gasquet and E. Bishop, *The Bosworth Psalter*, pp. 27–34, 39, 47 (1907).

[2] *Lanfranci Omnia Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles, ii. 264.

[3] *E.g.* the Miracles of St. Thomas of Canterbury, cf. *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. J. C. Robertson, vols. i, ii, iii; the Miracles of St. Gilbert of Sempringham, *cf.* MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, B. 1, fos. 140ᵛ–168.

[4] *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, ii. 74.

[5] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i 62.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 72. [7] *Ibid.* pp. 223, 297. [8] Cf. *ante*, p. 168.

[9] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, i 194–196.

purely a medical school.[1] In consideration of the close relations between England and the Norman kingdom of Sicily at that time, it is unlikely that they were isolated representatives. However, in accordance with the Rule of St. Benedict, the monk might only use his art for the good of his monastery.[2] The practice of medicine was forbidden, as unbecoming to his profession, by the Lateran Council in 1139,[3] and again in 1179[4] and in 1215.[5]

In spite of much intercourse with the Continent, and with the East at the time of the Crusades, it was the boast of William of Newburgh that the plague of heresy had never infected England. Heresy was rife in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, but the thirty German Paulicians who landed in England converted only one woman, and she recanted when they were condemned at the Council of Oxford in 1166.[6]

The Norman Conquest gave a great impetus to historical study, already the most intellectually important side of monasticism in England. The cultured Norman abbots and monks were at one with their English brethren in their interest in the history of their own monasteries, of their country, and of the great ecclesiastics of the past. That interest, however, cannot be fairly assessed at the number of historical works written, much less of those remaining to us; the monk could only write at the command of his superiors.[7] The aim of those in authority was to provide some account of the history of the monastery, the lives of its special saints and benefactors, and a record of its possessions and privileges. Thus, while a monk at Ely, the Norman Goscelin[8] (*c.* 1098 ?) wrote the Life of St. Etheldreda, at Ramsey that of St. Ivo, and, after he was transferred to Canterbury, the lives of St. Augustine and his first six successors. Hermann of Bury wrote the miracles of St. Edmund at the request of Abbot

[1] H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, i 77.
[2] *Regula S. Benedicti*, cap. lvii.
[3] Labbe, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio*, ed. Cossart, xxi 528, cap. ix.
[4] Vol. xxii, p. 373, cap. ii. [5] Vol. xxii, p. 1010, cap. xxii.
[6] *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, i 131–134.
[7] *Simeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, i 3 (R.S.); Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii 123. Cf. *Les Monuments primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne*, ed. Ph. Guignard, p. 266; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. li.
[8] *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials*, ed. T. D. Hardy, ii 82, 83 (R.S.).

Baldwin.[1] Folcard, Abbot of Thorney (fl. 1066), composed the lives of St. Adulf, St. Botulf, and St. John of Beverley.[2] At Canterbury an Englishman, Osbern the precentor (fl. 1090), wrote the lives of St. Dunstan[3] and St. Elphege[4] by Lanfranc's wish. His successor and fellow countryman Eadmer added another life of St. Dunstan[5] and lives of Odo,[6] St. Wilfrid,[7] and, at the urgent request of the monks of Worcester, the life and miracles of St. Oswald.[8] Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx, wrote the lives of the saints of Hexham.[9] Though the special object of the Norman writers was to increase the fame of their monasteries, yet the Anglo-Saxon motive for compiling lives of the saints was not absent from some of them. Eadmer[10] and Gervase of Canterbury[11] alike regarded them as instructive to the greater number of men, who learnt more easily from example than from precept.

The Normans continued the practice of chronicling monastic and national events, but they used the Latin language; at Peterborough alone after 1075, and only until 1154, the chronicle was continued in Anglo-Saxon.[12] In the course of the twelfth century most of the Benedictine monasteries appear to have kept chronicles. The provenance of some of these is difficult to trace, for the chronicle of one monastery was incorporated into that of another without any acknowledgment, and interpolations were freely made.[13] However, for local events they were and are first-hand authorities of great value, and for national history they proved faithful reproductions of independent authorities.

[1] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i 26–92.
[2] *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, vol. i, pp. lii, 240–260.
[3] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, pp. 69–161.
[4] Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii 123–147.
[5] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, pp. 161–249.
[6] Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii 78–87.
[7] *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, i 161–226.
[8] *Ibid.* ii 1–59.
[9] *Hexham Priory, Chronicles and Annals*, ed. J. Raine, vol. i, pp. lxxv, 173–203 (Surtees Society); F. M. Powicke, *Ailred of Rievaulx*, p. 33 (1922).
[10] *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, ii 42.
[11] Cf. *Gervasii Monachi Cantuariensis Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, i 86 (R.S.).
[12] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. B. Thorpe, ii 235; *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer, i 12.
[13] Cf. *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, vol. i, p. xi.

In his prologue to his own Chronicle Gervase of Canterbury (fl. 1188) noted the varied nature of these compilations and condemned some of the writers who strayed into the province of the historian.[1] He wrote a tract on the destruction of the cathedral church of Canterbury in the fire of 1174, and the rebuilding, giving a detailed account which is of inestimable value to the student of architecture.[2] Some chroniclers, like Florence of Worcester (d. 1118),[3] were chiefly concerned with national history; others, again, like the chroniclers of Ramsey[4] and Abingdon,[5] Battle[6] and Thomas of Ely,[7] found their chief sources in their own monastic archives, and used general history only as a setting for local events.

As contemporary historians also the monks were greatly distinguished. Most of the ecclesiastical biographies were their work. Milo Crispin,[8] a monk of Westminster, wrote the life of Lanfranc, Eadmer[9] that of Anselm; Coleman, a monk of Worcester, produced an Anglo-Saxon life of Wulfstan, from which William of Malmesbury drew his materials;[10] several of the Canterbury monks[11] contributed lives of Thomas Becket; Jocelin of Brakelond[12] was the biographer of Abbot Samson of Bury; Walter Daniel wrote a life of Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx;[13] the official life of St. Gilbert was the work of one of his canons.[14] The monks had a high conception of the worth of their historical studies. Eadmer wrote the story of the struggles of Anselm with William II and Henry I to afford precedents for future

[1] *Gervasii Monachi Cantuariensis Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, i 87. *Cf.* R. L. Poole, *Chronicles and Annals*, p. 68.
[2] *Gervasii Opera Historica*, i 3–29.
[3] Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe (English Historical Society).
[4] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray.
[5] *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson.
[6] *Chronicon Monasterii de Bello*, ed. J. S. Brewer (Anglia Christiana Society); *cf. post*, pp. 195–7.
[7] *Liber Eliensis*, ed. D. J. Stewart (Anglia Christiana Society).
[8] *Beati Lanfranci Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis Opera Omnia*, ed. J. A. Giles, i 281–313.
[9] *Eadmeri Opuscula duo de Vita S. Anselmi*, ed. M. Rule, pp. 305–424.
[10] Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii 244–249.
[11] *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. J. C. Robertson, i, ii, 1–279, 299–323.
[12] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i 209–336.
[13] F. M. Powicke, *Ailred of Rievaulx and his Biographer Walter Daniel.*
[14] MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, B 1, fos. 33–168.

generations ;[1] William of Malmesbury deemed it shameful to be ignorant of the history of England,[2] and shewed a due appreciation of the connexion between literature and politics ;[3] the Augustinian canon, William of Newburgh, wrote to increase knowledge and to warn posterity by the lessons of history.[4]

The increasing popularity of history, so apparent in the reign of Henry II, was due in great part to the influence of the numerous historical works produced in the monasteries and to their teaching of the value of precedent. In the monastic libraries Henry of Huntingdon, Ralph de Diceto, Roger Hoveden, and others found the requisite materials for the earlier portions of their work. Moreover, subsequent historical writers might learn from the greatest monastic historians the function of criticism, a philosophic judgement, and the most fitting style. The new methods of historical writing adopted by monastic authors after the Norman Conquest were the outcome of the use of dialectic in theology and philosophy by Lanfranc, Anselm, and their pupils. Lanfranc taught a right use of authorities ; Anselm, as William of Malmesbury noted, the justification of authority by reason.[5] Indeed, many of the canons of modern historical teaching are duly set forth in the pages of William of Malmesbury[6] and William of Newburgh. Both carefully weighed their authorities. Internal evidence proved the veracity of Gildas and Bede to William of Newburgh,[7] while a skilful analysis of the contents of the *Historia Britonum*, a comparison with other authorities, and an appeal to reason resulted in his rejection of Geoffrey of Monmouth.[8] After searching the library at Glastonbury and reading all the works on St. Dunstan, both Latin and English, William of

[1] *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule, p. 1 (R.S.).
[2] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 4.
[3] William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, ii 467.
[4] *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, i 3.
[5] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 76.
[6] C. Jenkins, *The Monastic Chronicler*, pp. 14, 18–20.
[7] *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, i 11, 18.
[8] *Ibid.* pp. 11–18.

Malmesbury recognized the general harmony of older writers.[1] He considered that Osbern's work was discredited by ignorance of the antiquities of Glastonbury, but as many books were burnt in the fire at Canterbury in 1070 there was some excuse for him.[2] Ignorance of Anglo-Saxon prevented Faricius, abbot of Abingdon, from writing an adequate life of St. Aldhelm, and the fame attained by Faricius in other fields ought not to prejudice readers of William of Malmesbury's rival life.[3] In writing of contemporary events William of Newburgh shewed equal care and judgement in sifting evidence. For his account of the death of William, archbishop of York, in 1154, he sought the testimony of several witnesses and obtained an independent opinion from doctors.[4] He had the courage to record prodigies which were told him by absolutely reliable witnesses, and moreover, unlike most of his contemporaries, the wisdom to refrain from putting his own interpretation upon them, regarding them as beyond his understanding.[5]

There was a general belief among the monks that style had a dangerous influence on the popular mind. William of Newburgh urged that it was no criterion of historical accuracy, for Gildas wrote execrably,[6] Geoffrey of Monmouth with marvellous fascination.[7] William of Malmesbury justified his life of St. Dunstan on the ground that the old writers lacked grace and therefore remained unread,[8] while Osbern, on the other hand, had used rhetoric to cover his lack of truth.[9] Samson of Bury took up his pen to rewrite the miracles of St. Edmund in a sober style.[10] Richard of Ely shrank from the use of rhetoric.[11] The general use of Latin

[1] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, p. 289.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 251–253. *Cf.* J. Armitage Robinson, 'William of Malmesbury "On the Antiquity of Glastonbury,"' *Somerset Historical Essays* (I), British Academy (1921).
[3] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, pp. 330, 331.
[4] *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, i 80, 81.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 84, 308.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 11.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 12.
[8] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, p. 250.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 288.
[10] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i 107.
[11] *Liber Eliensis*, ed. D. J. Stewart, p. 94.

instead of the vernacular for literary purposes after the Norman Conquest resulted in the speedy development of a distinctly good style. Osbern of Canterbury, Hermann of Bury,[1] and Senatus Bravonius[2] of Worcester clung to old traditions, and derived their somewhat turgid language from too slavish an imitation of the Vulgate. The succeeding generations profited by the revival of classical study, and wrote grammatical Latin which, though somewhat free, was yet a living language. The graceful style of Eadmer, the forcible simplicity of William of Malmesbury, and the neatly finished periods of William of Newburgh were admirable models.

The influence of monasticism on the evolution of political theory in England was very considerable. The slow acceptance of the Hildebrandine conceptions of the papacy, and of the ensuing relations between Church and State, was in great measure due to the fact that the Benedictine monasteries entirely abstained from propagating them. Owing to the circumstances of the monastic revival, the political ideas emanating from Cluny, and most forcibly expressed by Gregory VII, gained no adherents in England. As in Normandy, the Benedictine monasteries accepted the reformed life of Cluny without adopting the hierarchical government of that order; moreover, in 1135 there were only seventeen Cluniac houses in England. Accordingly the Benedictine monks took no exception to the claims of William I and William II[3] to decide whether pope or antipope should be recognized, and the acknowledgement of no pope in England for ten years after the death of Gregory VII was not a stumbling block to them.[4] Florence of Worcester[5] and William of Malmesbury[6] alike chronicled with remarkable indifference the existence of rival popes.

In his adhesion to Urban II, Anselm stood practically alone against the king, barons, bishops, and abbots. His

[1] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i 26–92.
[2] *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, ii 60–97.
[3] *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule, p. 52.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, ii 29, 99.
[6] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis De Gestis Regum*, ed. W. Stubbs, ii 498, and *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 85.

uncompromising enunciation of the Hildebrandine theory at the Council of Rockingham in 1095 filled his hearers with horror and confusion.[1] Though many of the bishops then had been servants of the crown, all the abbots[2] present united with them against Anselm. They made no attempt to set forth any opposing theory, but in advising unqualified submission to the king they shewed their belief in the independence of the National Church.[3] In spite of their personal sympathy with Anselm, even the monks of his own cathedral did not understand his views on papal autocracy.[4] The principles involved in the investiture struggle excited no passionate feelings in monastic writers ; the general ecclesiastical attitude is represented in the comment made by Hugh, the chanter of York, on the futility of the points at issue.[5] In the strife between successive archbishops of York and Canterbury over the profession of obedience demanded by the Mother Church, each party in turn appealed to Rome as a political move.[6] If the result was successful the authority of the pope was triumphantly quoted, but both parties denied his right to exercise any authority when the judgement was unfavourable to them. A conspicuous consensus of opinion is to be seen from a comparison between the anonymous treatise composed by a secular canon of York shortly after 1104,[7] and the letter to Calixtus II in 1119 from Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury,[8] written with the aid of the Christ Church monks. Both based the claims of their respective sees on the authority of ancient documents ; both reminded the pope that he could not change the decrees of his predecessors.[9] Both struck at the roots of

[1] *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule, p. 57.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 63. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 58–63.

[4] 'Epistolarum Sancti Anselmi,' lib. iii, No. C ; Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clix 138.

[5] *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, ii 110 : 'Sed si fas est dici, adhuc habet ecclesia decimantes mentam et anethum, et colantes culicem et deglutientes camelum, de manuali investitura tumultuantes, de electionis et consecrationis libertate nihil mutientes.'

[6] *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, ii 98–220.

[7] Printed for the first time as an appendix to *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie im XI und XII Jahrhundert*, by H. Böhmer, pp. 436–497.

[8] *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, ii 228–258.

[9] H. Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat*, p. 480 : 'Hoc itaque decretum inter eos ordinavit beatus Gregorius et hoc reverenter exsecutus est beatus Augustinus, nec legitur quod alter ab altero consecratus sit vel professionem

the hierarchical claims of the papacy by denying the power of the pope to alter the relations between one Church and another,[1] by insisting on the fallible nature of his judgement,[2] by questioning his right to summon bishops to his court.[3]

In the second half of the twelfth century the spread of the new monastic orders in England was an important factor in the altered relations between Church and State. The Cistercians recognized the jurisdiction of no bishop save the pope; they were under his special protection, and therefore upheld his authority over that of any national ruler, and their organization was cosmopolitan. In the disputed succession

fecerit. Hoc, inquam, decretum nulli unquam mutare vel destruere jure licuit, nec etiam apostolicae sedi. Sicut dicit papa Zozimus scribens Narbonensibus: "Contra statuta patrum aliquid concedere vel mutare, nec huius sanctae sedis potest auctoritas." Apud nos enim inconvulsis radicibus vivit antiquitas, cui sancti patres sanxere reverentiam.' Cf. *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, ii 248: 'Solent enim Romani pontifices de observandis indeclinabiliter decretis antecessorum suorum ante consecrationem suam profiteri, et mihi quisquam audeat imponere quatinus ecclesiae meae privilegia debeam evacuare? Quod si forte alicuius occasionis tantum nefas presumam attingere, certum est quod spiritalis reus adulterii quia primam fidem irritam feci. Hinc profecto beatus Gregorius scribit ita: "Grave nimis," inquit, "et contra sacerdotale constat esse propositum velle cuiusquam ecclesiae privilegia olim indulta confundere." Quod autem nec ipsi summo pontifici liceat sanctorum patrum traditionibus contraire Zosimus papa sic testatur: "Contra statuta," inquit, "patrum aliquid concedere vel mutare, nec huius quidem sedis potest auctoritas." '

[1] H. Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat*, pp. 437–452, *e.g.* p. 445: 'Non tamen Romanos pontifices dampnare volumus, set Christum et apostolos suos ipsis praeferimus, et ordinis unitatem dividere et dignitatem episcopalem in aliquo minuere nolumus. . . . Verbi gratia: ut est illa sententia Gelasii papae, quae dicit: "Illud etiam adnecti placuit, ut facultates ecclesiae et dioceses, quae ab aliquibus possidentur episcopis, jure sibi vendicent, quod tricennalis lex conclusit, quia et ultra triginta annos nulli liceat pro eo appellare, quod legum tempus excludit." ' Cf. *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, ii 249: 'Et quidem in saecularibus judiciis solent minores potestates cum suis inferioribus quaecunque inter se discrepare videntur, in sua curia tractare nec ante majoris potestatis curiae praesentari, quam justitiae veritatem in sua deprehendantur violasse, nec judicatur ibi debere quemquam subire judicium donec investiatur, unde sine judicio passus est spoliari. Qua in re nec sacri canones dissentire videntur, qui etiam ad veritatis diffinitionem triginta vel quadraginta annorum investituram in rebus ecclesiasticis satis esse testantur.'

[2] H. Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat*, p. 436: 'Secundum summi pontificis personam super omnes homines est, secundum hominis personam inter homines, secundum peccatoris personam infra homines.' Cf. *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, ii 250: 'Quocirca viderit sanctae sedis Apostolicae summa justitia, si spoliari debet per surreptionem unius hominis quod potuit haberi per spatium tanti temporis.'

[3] H. Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat*, p. 246; *Historians of the Church of York*, ii 251.

to the see of York in 1143[1] their appeals to a Cistercian pope, Eugenius III, resulted in the installation of their own candidate, Henry Murdac, abbot of Fountains, to the discomfiture of King Stephen and Henry, bishop of Winchester.

The influence of the Cistercian teaching over an order composed of English men and women, and founded in England between 1131 and 1139, was illustrated in the attitude of the Gilbertines in the conflict between Becket and Henry II. When Becket fled from the Council of Northampton in 1164 they aided his escape from England by passing him from house to house of their order.[2] Though falsely charged before the king's justices in 1165 with having sent money abroad to Becket, Gilbert of Sempringham replied that he would rather suffer exile than swear to his innocence. As a loyal son of the Church he would have thought it right to help the archbishop in every way he could, and his oath, therefore, might be misunderstood.[3]

Though the Benedictines shewed jealousy of the new monastic orders which were robbing them of their popularity, they became rapidly imbued with the political ideals of their rivals. The crown had failed to protect them from outrage in the troublous years of Stephen's reign, the new orders enjoyed freedom of election and immunity from financial and other burdens. Accordingly the great Benedictine houses sought the same privileges from the papacy,[4] and in some instances even they forged bulls of early date.[5] The acceptance of the pope as supreme protector involved the adoption of the Hildebrandine theories, and the claims made by Becket on behalf of the Church found favour with all his monastic biographers.

[1] *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, i 56.

[2] *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. J. C. Robertson, iii 323–325, iv 44–45 (R.S.).

[3] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. xvii.

[4] *E.g.* the following sought papal protection: St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in 1139, Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. 1885, No. 8004; Malmesbury, in 1551, *ibid.* No. 9466; Sherborne, in 1146, *ibid.* No. 8855; Rochester, in 1146, *ibid.* No. 8870; Westminster, in 1146, *ibid.* No. 8878; Peterborough, in 1146, *ibid.* No. 8965; Abingdon, in 1152, *ibid.* No. 9567. Malmesbury also obtained privileges of election and exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. *Cf.* Jaffé, No. 9466, *Registrum Malmesbiriense*, ed. J. S. Brewer, i 346, 348.

[5] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, pp. 99, 176.

This change of attitude is very visible in the quarrel between the Canterbury monks and Baldwin, the Cistercian archbishop (1185–1193). The monastic party in England was divided,[1] but each side regarded the pope as supreme arbiter and finally bowed to his judgement. In the twelfth century popular regard and the consent of the bishops and the crown no longer sufficed to create an English saint. A decree of canonization was sought for Edward the Confessor from Alexander III in 1161,[2] for Gilbert of Sempringham from Innocent III in 1202.[3]

Towards the end of the twelfth century intolerance of the Jews was steadily increasing in spite of the favour with which they were regarded by the crown. In accordance with successive decrees of Lateran Councils,[4] the friendly feelings manifested by St. Anselm and Gilbert Crispin,[5] abbot of Westminster, gave place to bitter enmity. Three important Benedictine monasteries lent currency to the blood accusation by burying the martyrs within their churches, and kept the stories before the minds of the people by recording miracles worked by St. William of Norwich,[6] St. Harold of Gloucester,[7] St. Robert of Bury St. Edmunds.[8] In the library at Bury there was a book called *Ysidorus contra Judeos*,[9] in the Rochester library in 1202 there were three books against the Jews,[10] and another was included in the Reading catalogue in the middle of the thirteenth century.[11] Thus the Benedictines furnished an intellectual justification for the hostility of the towns to the privileged aliens in their midst, of the impoverished lesser barons, and of the Cistercians, who owed nine of their northern houses

[1] *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, vol. ii, p. xliii.
[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i 434.
[3] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. xxv.
[4] Labbe, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio*, ed. Cossart, p. 231.
[5] 'De Fide Ecclesiae contra Judeos,' addressed to Anselm by Gilbert Crispin; Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clix 1063.
[6] Martyred in 1144. Cf. *The Jews of Angevin England*, ed. J. Jacobs, p. 19.
[7] Martyred in 1168. Cf. *ibid.* p. 45.
[8] Martyred in 1181. Cf. *ibid.* p. 75.
[9] *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Publications*, xxviii 81.
[10] 'Arma contra Judeos,' 'Magister Andrea contra Judeos,' '[Liber] qui vocatur Bartholomeus contra Judeos.' *Cf.* W. B. Rye, *A Memorial of the Priory of St. Andrew at Rochester.*
[11] 'Petrus Aleunei contra Judeos.' *Cf.* Supplement to Coates, *History of Reading*, ed. 1802.

to the money of Aaron of Lincoln.[1] Even William of Newburgh regarded the massacres of the Jews in 1189 as the direct working of the Divine Providence.[2]

Between the tenth and the twelfth centuries education owed much to the influence of monasticism. In the field of literature the monks exercised a paramount influence through the continuous development of their historical work in various directions, in the re-editing of old materials, in the provision of new ones, and in the formation of style. Through their appeals to precedents they forced the claims of the study of history upon the crown and the nation. The political theories adopted at the several stages of the development of English monasticism were reflected in the history of the nation.

[1] *Jewish Quarterly*, x 635 (1898).
[2] *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, i 298.

VIII

THE MONASTERY OF BATTLE

In the record of the death of William the Conqueror in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, it is stated that the king founded a noble monastery on the spot where God permitted him to conquer England in 1066, and that he established monks in it and made them very rich. The evidence of Domesday Book proves that the monks possessed the lands which they claimed to hold by a charter of William the Conqueror, now recognised to be spurious and to have been fabricated at Battle in the later years of Stephen's reign.[1] There is, however, an authentic record that the monks had come to Battle in 1070 or 1071; it is the notification by William the Conqueror to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and the king's barons throughout England that the king has granted and confirmed that the abbot of Battle shall come to court at Easter, Whitsuntide and Christmas, and have the court livery or allowance for himself and two monks, namely four simnel loaves and wine; and of fish and of whatever might there be, three dishes for himself and three for his monks, and two wax candles and ten candle ends.[2]

In the reign of Henry II a monk of Battle, who was already an inmate of the monastery in the early years of Stephen's reign, wrote the well-known chronicle of Battle, which broke off abruptly in 1176.[3] After that date another monk, with far less ability and no critical faculty, considered that the work had been scamped, and he re-wrote the earlier part with the traditional and picturesque story of the foundation.

[1] H. W. C. Davis, 'The Chronicle of Battle Abbey,' *English Historical Review*, xxix 431.

[2] H. W. C. Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, i 16, No. 60.

[3] *Chronicon Monasterii de Bello*, ed. J. S. Brewer (Anglia Christiana Society, 1846), translated by M. A. Lower 1851. Cf. *English Historical Review*, xxix 426–434.

According to this second account, there was a monk of Marmoutier, by name William Faber, or the Smith, who had formerly been in the duke's service, and he joined the expedition to England in the hope of advancing the interests of his monastery. Before the battle the duke made a vow to build a monastery, and William Faber at once secured a promise that it should be dedicated to St. Martin. After the pacification of the kingdom, William the Conqueror was reminded of his promise by William Faber, and he sent him to Marmoutier to ask for monks for whom he would build a monastery on the field of the battle. William Faber returned with four of his brethren, they objected to the dry site of the battlefield, with no water supply, and began to build lower down on the west side of the hill. When the king heard of it, he was very angry, and insisted that the church should be begun at once on the site which he had chosen, and so the monks placed the high altar on the spot on which Harold had been seen to fall in the battle. The king promised to pay all the expenses out of the treasury and sent ships to Caen to bring over stone from its famous quarries Before long, however, a quarry was found in the neighbourhood.

This story of how William Faber came to England to advance the interest of Marmoutier is unknown until a hundred years afterwards, but it may have been written to explain to a later generation why William the Conqueror founded a monastery in honour of St. Martin and chose the first monks from Marmoutier.

St. Martin was worshipped throughout France and several important monasteries and hundreds of churches were dedicated to him.[1] Tours, the capital of Touraine, was the centre of his cult, for he was buried in the monastery of St. Martin, situated just outside the walls of the city at the time when he was bishop. In the ninth century this monastery of St. Martin passed permanently into the possession of secular canons,[2] and throughout the Middle Ages streams of pilgrims came to worship at the shrine of the saint in this church of secular canons which was enclosed within the walls of the

[1] E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du douzième Siècle en France*, pp. 224–227.

[2] *Les Archives de la France Monastique*, ed. Beaunier et Besse, 'Abbayes et Prieurés,' viii 10.

mediaeval city. St. Martin had also founded a monastery on the north bank of the Loire about two miles east of Tours on the opposite side of the river; it was called Marmoutier and was afterwards dedicated in his honour. Marmoutier was destroyed by the Normans in 853, rebuilt and given back to monks who were reformed in the middle of the tenth century by St. Majolus, abbot of Cluny.[1] Marmoutier did not become subject to Cluny, but remained an independent Benedictine monastery with the Cluniac ideals of the right use of wealth in the service of God and of man, of splendour in worship and of hospitality and almsgiving.

When William was duke of Normandy, Marmoutier was the most important monastery in Western France, and ranked with Cluny. Marmoutier held lands in Normandy and churches in Guernsey of the duke's own gift, and before he started on the expedition to England, it is recorded that a monk named John of Marmoutier came to the court at Rouen, and at his request the duke's eldest son, Robert, formally confirmed his father's gifts to Marmoutier.[2]

Whatever may be the truth of the story of William Faber, it is certain that the first few monks of Battle came from Marmoutier to be the nucleus of the new foundation, and to supervise the building of the monastery. In the middle of the last century the distinguished French architect, Monsieur Viollet le Duc, maintained that every abbot was more or less of an architect, and that the abbots sent out monks who were able to build great churches without lay help.[3] That theory has been definitely rejected, and in his great book, *L'Architecture Religieuse en France à l'époque Romane*, published in 1912, the late Monsieur de Lasteyrie wrote: 'The truth is that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries there were a fair number of monks practising architecture as well as other arts, and that many bishops and abbots were sufficiently instructed to supervise the skilled craftsmen whom they engaged, but the work was executed by laymen.'[4] This appears to have happened at Battle, for it is definitely

[1] *Les Archives de la France Monastique*, viii 26–32.
[2] *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, ed. J. H. Round, p. 425.
[3] R. de Lasteyrie, *L'Architecture Religieuse en France à l'époque Romane*, pp. 235, 236.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 237.

stated that the monks from Marmoutier superintended the work, but the actual builders, knowing that there was plenty of money to pay them from the king's treasury, were negligent, and the work went on very slowly.

There is one point of great importance in the precise statement that the monks of Marmoutier came to superintend the building.[1] It is possible that Battle was one of the first churches to be built in England with an east end terminating in an apse surrounded by an ambulatory with radiating chapels. The original plan of the east end of Battle is not known, and it can only be determined by fresh excavation. The first church known in France to have been built on this plan was the church of the secular canons of St. Martin at Tours at the beginning of the tenth century.[2] Its special advantage was that when great numbers of pilgrims came to worship at the shrine of a saint, they could go up the choir aisle, pass round the apse and return by the other choir aisle ; in abbey churches it was very suitable for the monks' processions, when on Sundays they sprinkled every altar with holy water.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the periapsidal plan of St. Martin at Tours was particularly common in the neighbourhood of the Loire, and though there is now no possibility of discovering the original plan of the abbey church of St. Martin of Marmoutier, there is a very strong presumption that it was the same as that of the church of St. Martin at Tours. On the other hand, the periapsidal plan was very rare in Normandy, and the abbey church of Fécamp was an exception to the rule, that the romanesque abbey churches of Normandy were built with three parallel eastern apses.[3]

Yet between 1066 and 1100 several English monastic cathedral and abbey churches were built with an eastern apse surrounded by an ambulatory with radiating chapels instead of on the Norman plan ; these were Winchester, Worcester, Gloucester, St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Bury St. Edmund's, and Norwich, all of them begun after

[1] ' qui operi pre-essent,' *Chronicon de Bello*, p. 23.
[2] R. de Lasteyrie, *op. cit.* pp. 185–188 ; F. Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, pp. 167–170.
[3] R. de Lasteyrie, *op. cit.* pp. 300, 495.

Battle.[1] The east end of Battle was far advanced in 1076, when the second abbot Gausbert received benediction from the bishop of Chichester before the high altar of St. Martin at Battle.[2]

The abbey church was finished in the life of William the Conqueror, who was determined to be present at the dedication, but he was summoned to Normandy.[3] At the burning of Mantes, his horse fell on him, and he died at Rouen in September 1087, and was buried in the monastery of St. Etienne at Caen, which he had founded when duke of Normandy.

Before he died he commanded his son, William Rufus, to arrange for the speedy dedication of Battle and to make a gift of another manor of the value of £40 a year, and he bequeathed to the monastery his royal mantle ornamented with gold and costly gems, and three hundred reliquaries of gold and silver, and a shrine containing relics in the form of a portable altar on which Mass had been celebrated for him when he was in the field.[4]

William the Conqueror had endowed Battle with all the land within the radius of a mile and a half of the monastery, the valuable manor of Alciston in Sussex, the vast manor of Wye in Kent with Dengemarsh on the coast, the manors of Limpsfield in Surrey, Hoo in Essex, Bright Walton in Berkshire, Crowmarsh in Oxfordshire, town houses in London and Winchester; the church of Reading, exchanged with Henry I for the Sussex manors of Appledram and Huntingdon; and the churches of Cullompton and St. Olave's, Exeter. 'If these estates be well managed,' wrote the second monk of Battle, 'they will suffice for the monks in all time to come.' He added that the king intended the endowment for 60 monks, and if he had lived to see the dedication,[5] he would have increased it to 140, a statement for which this monk drew on his own imagination.

For the management of their Devonshire property the

[1] My attention was drawn to the problem of the first adoption of the periapsidal plan in England by Mr. A. W. Clapham. *Cf.* J. Bilson, 'Recent Discoveries at the East End of the Cathedral Church of Durham,' *Archaeological Journal*, liii 9.

[2] *Chronicon de Bello*, pp. 9, 26. Cf. *English Historical Review*, xxix 430.

[3] *Chronicon de Bello*, p. 37.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 36, 40.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 23.

monks of Battle founded the cell of St. Nicholas at Exeter,[1] and one of William the Conqueror's followers, Bernard of Newmarch, gave them the property in Brecon, on which they also founded a cell.[2]

In 1094, when William Rufus was waiting at Hastings for a favourable wind to cross to Normandy, he agreed to go to Battle. On February 11 the church was dedicated with great pomp by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Winchester, Chichester, Salisbury, Bath, Durham, Rochester and Coutances, in the presence of the king and many of his barons and a great concourse of clergy and of the common people.[3]

The buildings of the monastery had been completed under Abbot Gausbert, and the twelfth-century monk, who lived in them, observed that the abbot had not studied ostentation in the way of fine buildings for the monks, as many are apt to do.[4]

Abbot Gausbert died on July 27, 1095, and after ten months William Rufus acted on the advice of Archbishop Anselm and nominated Henry, prior of the cathedral monastery of Canterbury, as abbot of Battle. Anselm had known Henry when he was still a monk of the famous monastery of Bec before Lanfranc had summoned him to be prior of Canterbury eighteen years before, and the monks of Battle recognized that their new abbot was renowned for his strict observance of monastic life, his learning, kindness and gentleness, but on Archbishop Anselm's advice he went to Chichester to receive the office of benediction from the bishop, instead of insisting that the bishop should come to Battle.[5] He brought some Canterbury monks with him to Battle, which led to quarrels, and the affairs of the house were not managed prudently during his rule. He died in 1102, and for the next five years King Henry I left the monastery without an abbot, and its affairs were managed by a keeper.[6]

[1] *Chronicon de Bello*, pp. 31, 32; R. Graham, 'The Benedictine Priory of St. Nicholas at Exeter,' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (New Series), xxxiii, pt. i, pp. 58–69.

[2] *Chronicon de Bello*, pp. 34, 35.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 40, 41; *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. Earle and Plummer (1892), i 229.

[4] *Chronicon de Bello*, p. 43.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 43, 44.

[6] *Ibid.* pp. 47–51.

Vacancies were a source of wealth to the crown, for surplus revenues were paid to the exchequer.

When monks were sent out from a mother-house to found a Benedictine or Cluniac monastery, it was usual for the nomination of the head of the daughter-house to be made by the mother-house, and a yearly payment was also sent to the mother-house in token of subjection.

Marmoutier had three dependent priories in England which stood in this relation to her, but Battle had the status of an abbey from its first foundation, though the first two abbots had been nominated at Marmoutier. During the vacancy at Battle on the death of Abbot Henry, between 1102-1105, the abbot of Marmoutier came to Henry I's Easter court at Winchester, claiming that William the Conqueror had made Battle subject to Marmoutier. The case was tried before the king's court and rejected because the abbot of Marmoutier could produce no documentary evidence, and the king gave the abbot of Marmoutier a manor in Devonshire and a church in Wiltshire in compensation for the loss of rights which he could not prove. It is significant that on this occasion the monks of Battle did not produce their charter of William the Conqueror exempting them from Marmoutier, and the inference is that it had not then been fabricated.[1]

In 1107 Henry I nominated as abbot of Battle a monk of Caen, by name Ralph, who had come to England to be prior of Rochester by request of Archbishop Lanfranc. The Battle chronicler relates that under his rule the abbey became second to none in England for the high standard of monastic observance, for clemency, charity and generosity. 'There was such an abundance of all good things, and such great attention paid to hospitality that guests and strangers came not so much like passing visitors as to remain a longer time at their pleasure as if they had come to their own homes.'[2] A new shrine for the relics given by William the Conqueror was made of gold and silver, of choice workmanship, and adorned with costly jewels; the maker was

[1] *Chronicon de Bello*, pp. 49–51; *English Historical Review*, xxix 431.
[2] *Chronicon de Bello*, p. 52. Here and in later passages I have generally used M. A. Lower's translation of the Chronicle.

probably Wulfric the goldsmith, who was one of the burgesses living in the twenty-second house on the south side of the street from the abbey gate.[1] The bishop of Chichester came to consecrate it, and he gave an indulgence of seven days. During the rule of Ralph, the present walls were finished and other buildings were added. The lead roof of the church was begun by him and it was finished by his successor,[2] Abbot Warner, a monk of Canterbury. Abbot Warner appears to have offended King Stephen because he was an adherent of Queen Maud, so he resigned in 1138, and retired to the Cluniac priory of Lewes.

He was succeeded by Walter de Luci, a monk of the Benedictine house of Lonlay, near Domfront, in Normandy. Walter de Luci had been in England visiting his kinsmen, the abbot of St. Albans, and his brother Richard de Luci filled the office of chief justiciar under Stephen and Henry II until 1179. As the king's lieutenant in judicature and administration, Richard de Luci used all his influence to promote the interests of Battle in a series of law suits of which the chronicler of the monastery has given a lively description.

In a valuable criticism of the Chronicle of Battle, Professor H. W. C. Davis has shewn that the most important of the charters of William the Conqueror were forgeries, and they were fabricated at Battle for the purpose of being used in these lawsuits.[3] There are many monastic charters which are now recognized to be spurious. Such charters often contain facts that are substantially correct, on the chancery rolls there are many charters of confirmation reciting charters which the king had inspected, and which he confirmed and strengthened by his own authority.[4] Professor Tout has explained that if there had never been an original, or if it was lost or destroyed by fire, the applicant for the charter made a false original, and cut the seal off another document, but he was unaware that such documents had particular forms and technicalities in different periods.

Soon after Henry II's coronation the abbot of Battle

[1] *Chronicon de Bello*, pp. 57, 58; *English Historical Review*, xxix 429.
[2] *Chronicon de Bello*, p. 58.
[3] *English Historical Review*, xxix 426–434.
[4] T. F. Tout, *Medieval Forgers and Forgeries*, pp. 12–14.

came to his court with a series of charters to be confirmed, and the more important were forgeries. There is some evidence that they were correct as to the secular privileges of the monastery, but they infringed the rights of the bishop of Chichester and of the archbishop of Canterbury. Monastic immunities were viewed with jealous eyes by bishops, and Bishop Hilary of Chichester had summoned the abbot of Battle to attend his synods and pay episcopal dues; he demanded hospitality as a right at the abbey and at its manors, and asserted that the abbot-elect of Battle was bound to be consecrated in the cathedral church of Chichester and make a profession of obedience. It is impossible to enter into the details of the quarrel, but the story of the lawsuit is very amusing.[1] Monastic exemptions were granted by popes and not by kings, and the bishop of Chichester prejudiced Henry II against him by suggesting that the clause in William I's charter was frivolous; the king promised to confirm all the charters which had been produced as a practical proof that the king of England could grant what privileges he pleased to a royal chapel. The bishop of Chichester was obliged to acquiesce.

A lawsuit about the possession of land has also a special interest.[2] During the rule of Abbot Ralph (1107-1124) land had been bought at Barnhorn, five miles from the abbey, and cultivated with much labour and expense and houses and a mill had been built. After some time the lord of the manor seized the property and sold it, and Battle was deprived of possession for twenty years, for in Stephen's reign, wrote the chronicler, 'justice was little regarded, and he who was strongest got most.' Abbot Walter waited for the return of peace and strong government, and he then sued Gilbert de Balliol, the lord of the manor, for its recovery. When the case came before the king's court, the deeds of purchase and confirmation were read aloud. Gilbert de Balliol admitted that he had listened to the deeds to which his predecessor was a party, but added that he could see no seals appended to them. Richard de Luci, the chief justiciar,

[1] *English Historical Review*, xxix 431, 432; *Chronicon de Bello*, pp. 84–104.

[2] *Chronicon de Bello*, pp. 105–109.

asked Gilbert if he possessed a seal, and as the answer was yes, he smiled contemptuously and said 'In old times it was not the custom for every small knight to have a seal, which befits only kings and great men; neither in bygone days did malice, as now, make people lawyers and quibblers.' Gilbert next challenged Henry I's charter of confirmation, whereupon Henry II took the charter and seal of his grandfather into his hands and said 'If you can prove this charter false you will put a thousand pounds into my pocket in England'; and after some further discussion the property was given back to Battle.

The chronicler had a great admiration for Abbot Walter de Luci, since apart from his success in the lawsuits the monastery prospered in every way during his rule of forty-four years. 'He took great delight in the beauty of God's house and adorned the church with such palls, chasubles, copes, albs and vestments, hangings, banners and other ornaments as none of his predecessors had done the like.' In the last years of his life he pulled down the cloister built in the reign of William the Conqueror by Abbot Gausbert, because it was too humble, and he built another of marble slabs and columns of smooth and polished workmanship. When the cloister was finished, he intended to build a lavatory of the same material and workmanship, and he had engaged the workmen when he died in 1172, and although he was unable to finish it, he left the money for this purpose.[1]

The special mention of the building of this lavatory is very interesting. The priory of St. Nicholas at Exeter was a dependent cell of Battle, and in the recent restoration Mr. Harold Brakspear found a number of Purbeck marble capitals and bases which formed part of a cloister lavatory, circular in plan, projecting into the garth opposite the door of the refectory.[2] He exhibited some of those capitals and bases at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in 1916, and stated that during the thirteenth century the quarries at Purbeck were manufacturing these capitals, columns and bases wholesale and despatching them to all parts of the

[1] *Chronicon de Bello*, p. 136.

[2] H. Brakspear, 'Purbeck Marble Capitals and Bases, from St. Nicholas Priory, Exeter,' *Society of Antiquaries of London, Proceedings 1915–16* (Second Series), xxviii 245, 250.

kingdom. The Exeter examples were earlier than the known establishment of this wholesale business and were specially made for their position, though probably wrought at the quarries. Until the discovery of this circular lavatory at the priory of St. Nicholas, it was believed that there were only four of the kind in England, at the Benedictine cathedral monasteries of Canterbury and Durham, and at the Cluniac priories of Lewes[1] and Much Wenlock. The description of the lavatory at Battle suggests that it was a separate building, and the circular lavatory at St. Nicholas, Exeter, may therefore have been copied from that of the mother house of Battle. An excavation in the cloister might reveal the site and form of the lavatory, and some capitals and bases of Purbeck marble like those at Exeter might be found.

After the death of Abbot Walter in 1172, the property of the monastery was administered for the crown for four years. Through the influence of Richard de Luci, the late abbot's brother, Hugh de Beche, a burgess of Battle, and Peter de Criel, a neighbouring knight, were appointed custodians; they took the revenues of the monastery, provided the monks with food and clothing, saw to necessary repairs of buildings and supervised the servants, and paid the balance to the exchequer. Entries on the Pipe Rolls[2] shew that the payments in the four years amounted to nearly £200, and included the windfall of the property of Pelokin, the bailiff of Battle, who died intestate, leaving £34 14*s.* 0*d.* At the value of money in 1914, the total was about £4000.

In 1176 Odo, prior of Canterbury, was chosen, much against his will, to be abbot of Battle, and to avoid friction with the bishop of Chichester he received benediction from the archbishop of Canterbury in the chapel of the manor of South Malling, near Lewes.[3] The chronicler of the monastery wrote an enthusiastic appreciation of his character.[4] 'He was a pattern in word and deed of a holy life to all. He relieved everyone who sought his assistance. His hospitality knew no respect of persons: the abbey gates stood open

[1] W. H. Godfrey, *The Priory of St. Pancras, Lewes*, p. 18 (1927).
[2] *Chronicon de Bello*, p. 139; *Pipe Roll Society*, xviii 133, xix 29, xx 120, xxii 84.
[3] *Chronicon de Bello*, pp. 161, 162.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 163.

for all comers who needed either refreshment or lodging. For those persons whom the rule forbade to sleep within the abbey, he provided entertainment without the walls. In the services in the church, in reading and in meditation, he was with his monks. In his bearing, his action and his habits, there was nothing of pride or levity. . . He possessed a discreet modesty and a modest discretion to tolerate the frailties common to all men, and to become all things to all men; unwilling to be overcome of evil, he sought rather to overcome evil with good. In his writings on the Holy Scriptures and in sermons he was lucid, eloquent and delightful. Sometimes he preached in Latin, sometimes in French, and often in the mother tongue of the common people, and though he sometimes spoke at great length, his personality was so attractive that his hearers never wearied of his prolixity. They saw that he did not preach one thing and practise another; for what he uttered with his lips he carried into effect in his conduct.'

King John was a great benefactor to Battle, for he granted the monks a charter by which in all future vacancies they had the custody of the property of the monastery, and the crown officials had no claim to interfere in any way.[1]

The royal nomination of the abbots of Battle ceased after 1215; in the first clause of Magna Carta, it was provided that the English Church should be free and that there should be liberty of elections. In future vacancies the king's permission to elect was asked and granted, and his consent to the election made by the monks and representatives from the priories of Exeter and Brecon was purely formal. After 1215 no abbot was chosen from another house, and it is clear from several lists of monks who took part in the elections that they were mainly recruited from the manors of Battle and the two dependent priories.

The monk of Battle who witnessed the rebuilding of the cloister made the precise statement that it was finished before the death of Abbot Walter in 1172.[2] The first dormitory and refectory, which were described by the

[1] M. A. Lower, *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, p. 199; *Cal of Letters Close*, 1296–1302, p. 139.
[2] *Chronicon de Bello*, p. 136.

second monk of Battle after 1176 as mean buildings of little cost,[1] were rebuilt in the first half of the thirteenth century.[2] The east end of the church was rebuilt, probably to provide a larger Lady Chapel, and the crypt with three chapels opening out of it was excavated early in the nineteenth century. It is possible that Robert the mason, who witnessed a document at Battle in 1241, was the master mason for some of the rebuilding; he was an important person and himself gave a rent from land in Battle for the maintenance of a lamp to be kept burning before the altar of the Blessed Virgin.[3] Was the tile-kiln, of which a lease was granted in 1521,[4] used in the thirteenth century to provide tiles for the Lady Chapel? The recent most interesting discovery of the tile-kiln at Chertsey Abbey[5] suggests the possibility of finding the tile-kiln at Battle.

The relations between the monastery of Battle and the bishops of Chichester had been left in a curious position by the arbitrary settlement in the court of Henry II in 1155. The bishop was excluded from the territory called the leuga of Battle, a mile and a half in diameter, but the monastery had no papal bull of exemption from episcopal visitation. It was inevitable that the question should be brought forward again in the thirteenth century, when the movement for the reform of Benedictine monasteries received a great impetus from successive popes, and by the Lateran Council of 1215 the Benedictines were commanded to hold general chapters like the Cistercians, and to meet once in three years.

In 1235 a document called the 'Composition' received the consent of the bishop of Chichester, and the abbot and monks of Battle.[6] It was drawn up by John de Farenton, archdeacon of Norwich, Master Gentilis, and a canon of Chichester, and sealed in the cloister of Westminster Abbey. This 'Composition' was a real compromise. The principal

[1] *Chronicon de Bello*, p. 43.

[2] The dormitory and the chapels of the crypt are dated by Mr. Philip Johnston, F.S.A., *circa* 1220–30.

[3] T. Thorpe, *Catalogue of the Muniments of Battle Abbey* (1835), pp. 11, 45. A collection of Battle Abbey documents is now in the Huntington Library, California.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 136. [5] *The Antiquaries' Journal*, iii 71.

[6] *Register of Bishop Rede*, ed. Cecil Deedes, pt. ii, pp. 440–442 (Sussex Record Society, vol. xi).

points were that the bishop must satisfy himself that the election of the abbot had been properly conducted; then he must give benediction to the abbot-elect in the cathedral church of Chichester, or in any other place upon which they agreed, except the abbey church of Battle. The bishop must leave the installation of the new abbot to the prior of Battle. Once in three years the bishop could go to the monastery with a train of twenty-five horsemen to claim hospitality, but while he was there he could not exercise any powers of visitation or correction or any episcopal rights in the leuga, or territory within a mile and half of Battle. If he was invited, he could preach a sermon to the monks in their chapter-house. An arrangement unique in English monastic history was made for the visitation of Battle; every three years the abbot and convent were bound to request the bishop to appoint a Benedictine monk of the diocese to visit the monastery in association with another Benedictine monk of the diocese of their choice, and the visitors would report to the bishop who would order the correction of anything amiss. The penalty against either party for contravening the agreement was £33 6*s.* 8*d.*, to be enforced by the archbishop of Canterbury. Most of the medieval registers of the bishops of Chichester are unfortunately lost, nevertheless it is probable that the visitation procedure was regularly observed on account of the money penalty; in the first surviving register, that of Bishop Rede, there is an entry of the formal request from Battle for a visitor and a notification of the visitors appointed in 1401 and again in 1404.[1] No injunctions given by bishops of Chichester after receiving the reports of those visitations have as yet been found.

But Battle was not exempt from the metropolitical visitation of the archbishops of Canterbury. Archbishop Peckham made a visitation at Battle in 1283, and there are some notes on the back of another document, which was stitched into his register, now in the library at Lambeth Palace.[2] He was told by the monks that the chamberlain was very

[1] *Episcopal Registers of Chichester, Robert Rede*, ed. C. Deedes, pt. i, pp. 218, 219 (Sussex Record Society, vol. viii).

[2] *Episcopal Registers of Canterbury, Peckham*, pp. 198, 199 (Canterbury and York Society).

sparing in supplying their necessaries, and he made them wear such old clothes that they were worth nothing afterwards to give away to the poor. The keeper of the refectory was far too sparing in providing necessaries. The senescallus, or monk who was steward of the manors, was very severe on poor tenants. The abbot was a respecter of persons, and relied too much on his chaplain, John of Watlington, who had promoted his election. The prior was very feeble, and the subprior was not able to hear all the confessions. One monk was a man of vicious life, and was trying to lead others astray. Important business was transacted without the knowledge of the other monks.

In 1404 Archbishop Arundel appointed commissaries to visit Battle on his behalf, and when they reported that they found matters needing correction, he sent Thomas Chillenden, prior of the cathedral monastery of Canterbury, with a lawyer named Henry Ware, to make an inquiry and carry out all such reforms as were needed.[1] In 1507 Archbishop Warham appointed commissaries to visit the monastery of Battle during the vacancy in the see of Chichester, and in their presence in the chapter-house on September 4 Abbot William Westfield stated that at Lewes on June 28 he had been absolved by the archbishop for repeated acts of contumacy in not appearing before him when summoned.[2]

There is also evidence in the registers of the archbishops of Canterbury that the compromise about the consecration of the abbots of Battle was strictly observed. In 1364 the election of Abbot Hamo of Offington was confirmed at Lewes by the parsons of Lancing and Selsey, who were acting as vicars-general for the bishop of Chichester during his absence abroad. On the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr, December 29, Hamo of Offington appeared before Archbishop Islip, who was celebrating High Mass in the chapel of his manor of Charing, and made his profession which he read from a parchment schedule, promising to the bishop of Chichester and his successors subjection, reverence and obedience, saving the composition between the monastery of Battle and the church of Chichester.[3] A most interesting

[1] Register of Archbishop Arundel I, fo. 129v.
[2] Register of Archbishop Warham, fos. 253, 253v.
[3] Register of Archbishop Islip, fo. 305v.

description of the proceedings in 1418 was entered in Archbishop Chicheley's register by his clerk, Spenwortham, who added a note, 'I was present.'[1] On the death of Abbot William Marsh the monks elected their prior, Thomas Ludlow, and as the see of Chichester was vacant they presented the archbishop with the decree of their election, and asked him to confirm it. He sent a mandate to the dean of Battle and all rectors, vicars, curates, with or without cure of souls, public notaries, clerks and other persons whomsoever in the diocese of Chichester to cite publicly all persons within and without the monastery of Battle who desired to oppose the election, to appear before him or his commissary on May 28 in the chapel of his manor of Slindon. Thomas Rok, chaplain, and perpetual dean of the exempt jurisdiction of the 'leuga' of Battle, replied that all the monks appeared before him in their chapter-house on the feast of the Holy Trinity, and said that the election had been made with absolute unanimity. Afterwards, on the same day, in the parish chapel of St. Mary at High Mass, in a loud clear voice he had cited any other persons who wished to oppose the election to appear before the archbishop, and afterwards he sealed the document reporting that he had duly executed the mandate. On May 28, in the chapel of Slindon, the citation was read, the documents concerning the election were presented to the archbishop, and witnesses testified that the abbot-elect was born in wedlock and was of suitable character. The archbishop deputed the examination of the witnesses to his chancellor, Thomas Feld, doctor of laws, dean of Hereford, and John Holand, doctor of canon and civil law, master of the college of Maidstone, and then left the chapel to hear Mass in his private oratory. On his return the archbishop was notified that the election was in order, and he formally confirmed it, reading the sentence from a paper document. Immediately afterwards the clerks of the chapel began to sing the 'Te Deum.'

On the morrow, Sunday, May 29, the archbishop celebrated High Mass in the chapel, and as he sat in his chair before the middle of the altar facing the people, Abbot Thomas Ludlow, vested in alb, stole and cope, presented

[1] Register of Archbishop Chicheley, I, fos. 18v–20.

himself with due reverence for benediction, and after answering certain questions he read his profession from the paper schedule which he held in his hands: 'In the Name of God, Amen. I, brother Thomas Ludlow . . . profess and promise due and canonical obedience, reverence and subjection to your metropolitan church of Canterbury and to you and your successors, and to the church of Chichester and to the bishop; so help me God, and these Holy Gospels, and I sign this with my own hand.' After making the sign of the cross on the paper schedule, the abbot received benediction from the archbishop, according to the office in the pontifical. There were present the Lord John of Seynt John and John Pelham, knight, and many other persons. The abbot gave the archbishop's clerks their usual fee of £5. Immediately afterwards the archbishop sent a letter to the subprior to install the abbot and to the convent to obey him in all things, and he notified the king that the abbot had been confirmed and had received benediction.

It is probable that the monastery was never again so prosperous as in the reign of Henry II. The monks kept most of their estates in their own hands, and their revenues depended principally not on their rent roll, but on the success of their farming, and the profits of farming were subject to far greater fluctuations than at the present day. The costs of litigation were enormous, and if the monasteries did not submit to encroachments on their rights and property, they were bound to take legal action. Taxation imposed by the papacy and by the crown was sometimes very heavy, and in the thirteenth century it was regarded as an unjust exaction and not as a charge for which money should be set aside each year. It was usual to give free hospitality for two nights, but the custom was much abused by the rich and powerful, and became so oppressive that Edward I forbade anyone to eat or lodge in a monastery unless he had been formally invited, or was the founder, and even then his consumption should be moderate.

In 1240 the abbots of Battle and Bury St. Edmunds complained to the king of the exactions of the papal legate on behalf of the Benedictine monasteries; in the picturesque language of Matthew Paris, they said 'our throats are cut

and we cannot cry out.'[1] In 1253 the king formally requested the tenants of Battle to grant an aid in relief of the debts of the abbey.[2] In 1256 the abbot and convent paid two hundred and twenty-five marks (£150) to a firm of merchants of Florence as a contingent of the tenth for the expedition to Sicily.[3] In 1264, when Henry III was at Battle on his way to fight the barons at Lewes, he demanded a hundred marks, and Prince Edward took another forty marks, from the monks.[4] The complaints of the monks to Archbishop Peckham in 1283 suggest that they were straitened for money, yet in 1291 they were assessed for taxation at £732 3*s.* 9*d.*,[5] or at about £15,000 a year at the rate of money in 1914. They attempted to increase their annual revenues by buying land and by securing the appropriation of churches, which usually gave them the great tithes of a parish. In 1319, by the request of Edward II, the bishop of London appropriated the church of Great Sampford in Essex to them for the purpose of hospitality and almsgiving on the ground that they had suffered heavy losses from inundations of the sea, from the recent years of famine, and high taxation and loans.[6] It was impossible in the Middle Ages to borrow money at a reasonable rate of interest, and there was no insurance against damage by fire or flood.

From 1295 until 1538 the abbots of Battle were regularly summoned to parliament and sat in the House of Lords.[7] Their London house was in Southwark, near St. Olave's, on the bank of the Thames; according to Stowe it was a pleasant place with walks and gardens called the Maze, and in his time it had become an inn called the Flower de Luce.[8]

Owing to constant wars with Scotland and France from the reign of Edward I until the middle of the fifteenth century, new charges were imposed on the abbot and monks

[1] *Chronica Majora*, iv 36 (Rolls Series).
[2] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1247–58, p. 230.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 515.
[4] M. A. Lower, *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, p. 201.
[5] MS. Harl. 3586, fos. 84^{v}, 85, British Museum; *Taxation of Pope Nicholas*, passim (Record Commission).
[6] *Calendar of Papal Letters*, ii 235; MS. Harl. 3586, fo. 66.
[7] Stubbs, *Constitutional History* (ed. 1890), iii 459, 460, note 1; *Parliamentary Writs*, passim (Record Commission).
[8] Stowe, *Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, ii 66.

of Battle as large landowners in Sussex. In 1302 the abbot was summoned to send a ship furnished with men and necessaries to Newton-on-Ayr for the war in Scotland.[1] In 1310 he paid £66 13*s.* 4*d.* for the purchase of victuals for the army,[2] and in 1333 he was commanded to send a cart and five horses to York.[3] There are numerous commissions to the abbot and other landowners to defend the coast of Sussex against invasion by the French. In 1338 the abbot received the royal licence to fortify the monastery,[4] and the building of the great gatehouse and of the wall round the precinct was begun. Eleven years later the Black Death came to England. In 1350 the monks petitioned Pope Clement VI for leave to appropriate the church of Branford in Suffolk; they pleaded that the monastery had suffered losses from inundations of the sea and from wars, it was burdened by debt, and had been brought so low by pestilence that the monks could not exercise hospitality and almsgiving. The pope granted their request,[5] and the revenues of the rectory of Branford, assessed for taxation at £46 13*s.* 4*d.*, were transferred to Battle with a small deduction for a vicar. Edward III was not so easily convinced that Battle was in straits on account of misfortunes, and in 1353 he appointed three commissioners to hold an inquiry, because it was reported that there had been great mismanagement and waste, which was attributed to weak government and the inexcusable neglect of some of the monks.[6]

In 1360 the abbots of Battle and Robertsbridge and seven other landowners were on the commission to guard all the ports and coast in the rape of Hastings and to array the men-at-arms, archers and others against invasion, and to compel all persons having victuals for sale to bring them to certain places by the sea and sell them at a reasonable price to men coming thither to guard the coast.[7] The taxes of the fifteenth and tenth levied for national defence in the same year were to be deposited in a strong room at Battle.[8]

[1] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1302–7, p. 75.
[2] *Sussex Archaeol. Soc. Collections*, iii 115.
[3] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1330–34, p. 447.
[4] *Ibid.* 1338–40, p. 92.
[5] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv 393.
[6] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1350–54, p. 440.
[7] *Ibid.* 1358–61, p. 411.
[8] *Ibid.* 1358–61, p. 345.

French warships and galleys were cruising in the Channel to destroy shipping and make raids in 1371, and again the abbot was one of the landowners responsible for guarding the coast and lighting beacons to give warning of sudden danger.[1] The gallant defence of the town of New Winchelsey by Abbot Hamo of Offington against a French attack from nine in the morning until night in 1377 was recorded by a contemporary historian of the monastery of St. Albans.[2]

It is probable that owing to wars and heavy taxation very little money had been spent on repairs to the church in the fourteenth century. In 1398 the Abbot and monks secured an indulgence from Pope Boniface VIII who promised a relaxation of seven years and seven periods of forty days of penance to penitents who came to Battle on certain feasts and gave alms for the conservation of the church.[3] Payments for repairs and decorations of the church were entered in a sacrist roll of 1423.[4] A chantry was founded at the altar of St. Benignus by Thomas Hoo in 1445.[5] A part of the cloisters was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, and the timbered house near the great gatehouse took the place of the Norman Pilgrims' Hostel.

In June 1450 the abbot of Battle, the prior of Lewes and many landowners in Kent and Sussex were implicated in Jack Cade's rebellion. This political movement for the restoration of strong government was a failure, and a month later the abbot and monks of Battle and all their men and servants were included in Henry VI's general pardon.[6] It was the last striking episode in the history of the monastery.

As the smaller monasteries had been suppressed by the Act of 1536, the abbot and monks of Battle had warning of the future, and they appear to have disposed of some of their goods and to have sold long leases before Henry VIII's commissioners came to view the monastery in the spring of 1538. Sir John Gage and the notorious Richard Layton reported that they had not yet seen so beggarly a house, and

[1] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1370–74, p. 107.
[2] *Ibid.* 1374–77, p. 417; Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, i 341, 342 (Rolls Series).
[3] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v 253.
[4] T. Thorpe, *Catalogue of the Muniments of Battle Abbey*, p. 103.
[5] M. A. Lower, *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, p. 206.
[6] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1446–52, p. 372.

that the monks were as evil as their goods ;[1] it was obviously malicious comment because the spoils were not as great as they hoped. The commissioners had instructions to persuade the monks 'willingly to consent and agree to leave their houses,' and on May 27, 1538, the abbot, prior and fifteen monks signed the surrender of the monastery.[2] The abbot was awarded a pension of £100 a year, the prior £10 a year, and the other monks smaller sums.[3]

Three months later Henry VIII granted to his master of horse, Sir Anthony Brown, the site of the late monastery of Battle, then dissolved, and all the church, bell tower and cemetery of the said monastery and all buildings, granges, stables, dovecots, pools, vineyards, gardens, orchards and lands adjoining the site or precinct of the same, the great park and the little park, and lands in Sussex and Kent.[4] The inhabitants of Battle had their own parish church, so there was no reason why, as at Tewkesbury and Sherborne, at Romsey and St. Albans, they should try to save the abbey church for their own use and the joy of later generations. The great church, which was a thanksgiving to God from William the Conqueror, and in which for nearly five hundred years generations of monks and multitudes of pilgrims had said their prayers and offered their praises, had become a superfluous building. There is no record, as at Lewes Priory, of the actual process of destruction, but a year or two later the builders were at work converting the monastery into a mansion for Sir Anthony Brown.[5]

[1] H. Ellis, *Original Letters* (Third Series), iii 204.
[2] *Eighth Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, Appendix II, p. 9.
[3] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, iii 254.
[4] *Letters and Papers Henry VIII* (1538), vol. xiii, pt. ii, g. 249 (8).
[5] *Sussex Archaeological Society Collections*, xvii 50; T. Thorpe, *Catalogue of the Muniments of Battle Abbey*, p. 141.

IX

THE ORDER OF GRANDMONT AND ITS HOUSES IN ENGLAND

The Foundation of the Order

St. Stephen of Muret founded the Order of Grandmont about 1076 in the diocese of Limoges. More than sixty years after his death in 1124, Gerard Itier, the seventh prior of Grandmont, wrote his life,[1] and it is difficult to reconcile some of the dates with known historical facts.

Stephen was the son of Stephen, viscount of Thiers in Auvergne, and was born about 1046. When he was a youth his father took him on a pilgrimage to the south of Italy [2]; not, as Gerard wrote, to the shrine of St. Nicholas at Bari, so famous in the twelfth century, for the body of the saint was not translated from Myra in Lycia in Asia Minor until 1087.[3] It is probable that they visited the sanctuary of St. Michael on Mount Gargano, which had attracted pilgrims since the seventh century.[4] Stephen was very ill in the city of Benevento, and his father left him in the care of the archbishop. He stayed there for some years, and studied in the schools of the city. He visited a colony of hermits in the mountains of Calabria, who had left the world to live a life of contemplation, and had renounced all possessions; although they owned neither land nor cattle, they found such favour with God and men that they never lacked food or clothing. Stephen was fired by their example to return to his own country and found a hermitage. He visited Pope

[1] Vita S. Stephani, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cciv 1006–71; M. Haureau, 'Sur quelques écrivains de l'Ordre de Grandmont,' *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, xxiv 251–252.

[2] Migne, *op. cit.* p. 1011.

[3] Chevalier, *Bio-bibliographie*, p. 1638.

[4] E. Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XII^e siècle en France* (ed. 1922), pp. 257, 258.

Gregory VII in Rome,[1] but a papal bull of 1074 authorizing Stephen to found a new monastic order in accordance with the Rule of St. Benedict was forged late in the history of Grandmont.[2]

After visiting his parents and kinsfolk in Auvergne, Stephen wandered westwards in search of a solitude until he came to the mountains of the Limousin. In 1076 he built a hut of branches and twigs in a wood on a desolate mountain called Muret, a few miles north of Limoges. He was then in his thirtieth year, and he lived at Muret in extreme asceticism for forty-eight years until his death in 1124.[3] He had one meal a day of bread made of rye and bitter berries of the service tree, he drank water, and in old age a little wine. He slept on wooden boards without straw, and wore the same dress in summer and winter. He was cheerful, courteous, and kind to all who came to him for spiritual help. The fame of his holy life attracted men and women, rich and poor, who brought alms for St. Stephen and the disciples who gathered round him. They built an oratory and separate cells, which still survived in the sixteenth century.[4]

After Stephen's death in 1124 the Benedictines of St. Augustine at Limoges made a claim to the site of Muret, and the brethren at once sought for a new home. While the prior, Peter of Limoges, was celebrating Mass, and the brethren were offering prayers for guidance, suddenly in the *Agnus Dei*, a voice from heaven was heard by them crying out ' To Grandmont.'

The mountain of Grandmont was a desolate spot about seventeen miles north of Limoges, in the county of La Marche, and only three miles from Muret. Amelin de Montcocu gave the site, the lay brothers built a temporary church and dwellings with all possible speed, and the rest of the brethren removed from Muret to Grandmont in 1125, bringing with them the body of their founder, which they buried in the presbytery.[5] Miracles of healing are said to

[1] Migne, *op. cit.* p. 1014.

[2] L. Delisle, ' Examen de treize chartes de l'Ordre de Grandmont,' *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, xx 172, 173, 188.

[3] Migne, *op. cit.* pp. 1015–26.

[4] A. Lecler, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Grandmont* (reprinted from *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, lvii–lx 14).

[5] Migne, *op. cit.* pp. 1028, 1029.

have occurred, and as the brethren wished to remain in solitude, the fourth prior, Stephen Lissac, removed the founder's body to a tomb in the cloister outside the chapter-house.[1] Before the middle of the twelfth century the separate cells of the hermitage were replaced by the usual monastic buildings ranged around a cloister. Sixty years after the foundation Prior Gerard Itier described the place in these words : ' Grandmont is stern and very cold, unfertile and rocky, misty and exposed to the winds. The water is colder and worse than in other places, for it produces sickness instead of health. The mountain abounds in great stones for building, in streams, and sand, but there is scarcely any timber for building. The land around the monastery scarcely ever suffices to provide necessaries, for the soil is so unfertile, sterile, and barren. At the foot of the mountain there are vines and fruit-trees which bear well, when they are not spoilt by cold and lack of sunshine ; and also meadows, gardens, and arable fields. The place which was chosen by God is a solitude for penitence and religion, and those who dwell there lead a hard life.' [2]

Grandmont is now a little hamlet, consisting of a narrow street of stone houses, and at the end of it a small square chapel, built with some of the stones when the monastery was destroyed about 1825, still keeps the abbey in remembrance. The road winds up hill all the way for five miles from the town of Ambazac, passing the village of St. Sylvestre on the way to Grandmont. Standing outside the chapel, the view is unchanged since the brethren came from Muret 600 years ago to build the monastery. There are high ridges of bare hills with granite outcrops, and in the late autumn they are lit up with the vivid purple of the heather and brilliant russet of the bracken, which owe their marvellous colouring to the sunshine of the south. On the way down to St. Sylvestre little patches of Indian corn and buckwheat appear, and lower still there are apple trees and Spanish chestnuts. The country recalls the heart of Dartmoor with more fertile valleys.

[1] Migne, *op. cit.* pp. 1030, 1033.
[2] *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, xxiv 255.

The Rule of Grandmont

Stephen divided the brethren into clerks and lay brothers. The clerks were set absolutely free from the care of things temporal to spend their lives in prayer and contemplation; the lay brothers tilled the soil, took charge of the money, and were solely responsible for the business of the house. He gave them no written Rule, for he said 'In my Father's house there are many mansions, and there are many ways which lead to it. These diverse ways have been commended in writing by divers of the Fathers, and they are called the Rules of St. Basil, St. Augustine, and St. Benedict. These are not the source of the religious life but only its offshoots, they are not the root but only the leaves. The Rule from which all others derive, like streams flowing from a single source, is the Holy Gospel.'[1] After Stephen's death the brethren wrote down all they could remember of his teaching, and Hugh de La Certa, the lord of the castle of Chalus, who had become a brother at Muret in 1111, compiled the work which is known as the Rule of St. Stephen.[2] It consists mainly of the precepts of the founder, purporting to be in his own words, of which the following is a brief summary:

'My brethren, you will go to some poor place where there are neither buildings nor books, and you will not shrink from poverty. A wood is a suitable spot in which to build a cell and live by toil. Ask the owner for his wood, but never for a written deed of gift as evidence in a court of law. Never build on land belonging to monks, for one abbot may receive you gladly, but his successor may change his mind. Wherever you build, see that you harm no one; those who hated you when you first began to build in solitary places will love you afterwards and confer many benefits on you. You are not to accept land outside the bounds of your site, for if you get one piece, you will want the bit next to it, and your greed will never end. You may receive rents from land as alms, but if an heir of the donor

[1] Migne, *op. cit.* pp. 1135, 1136.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 1137–62; *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, xxiv 265–267.

withholds it, you must never go to law with him. You must not keep animals and breed them, for then you will want pastures, and the people will say "Would that these hermits had never come here, for they multiply their possessions and are a hindrance to us." Ask the bishop of the diocese for his permission to build, and invite him to consecrate the church and bless the cemetery. You must not allow people who ought to go to their parish church to come often to Mass in your church, and you must not go out to visit the sick or the dying if the parish priest can go to them. If you are reduced to such straits of poverty that you have no food left, you must send two of your brethren to the bishop to ask him for help, and if he will not hear you, and you have eaten nothing for two days, send two of the brethren to ask alms at mills and houses, as other poor folk must, but do not go to beg from your friends. I have remained in my hermitage for nearly fifty years, some of them years of plenty, others of scarcity, but I have always had enough. So will it be with you if you keep my commandments. Show hospitality to all men, and you will never miss it. Give alms to the poor and accept any small offering which they may bring you. You are never to go out to markets and fairs, but ask a friend to buy anything needful.'

A lay brother called the dispensator or steward was responsible for distributing food and clothing, and for seeing that the sick and old were cared for in the infirmary. In his work called 'The Mirror of Grandmont,' [1] Prior Gerard Itier wrote: 'Both clerks and lay brothers share one church, cloister, chapter-house, refectory and dormitory; there is no distinction in their dress or tonsure. They wear sackcloth next their skins, that is clothing made of very coarse flax or hemp, and over that a brown tunic, a scapular or short cloak with a round hood, woollen gaiters, and leather shoes.[2] In church all wear surplices. They never use meat or lard in health or in sickness. From September 15 to Easter they fast continuously except on Sundays and Christmas Day; from All Saints' Day to Christmas and from Septuagesima to Easter they abstain even from eggs

[1] *Notices et Extraits*, xxiv 256–260. [2] *Ibid.* xxiv 257.

and cheese; from Easter to September 15 they eat twice a day except on special feasts. When they have entered the solitude of the Order, they never go back to this world, either on business or to visit their kinsfolk, or to make purchases at markets and fairs, or to appear in courts of law, but they are as men who are dead to this world.' Giraldus Cambrensis, who had probably seen Prior Gerard Itier's book, 'The Mirror of Grandmont,' before he described the Grandmontines in his 'Mirror of the Church,'[1] explained that in every town and manor their patrons gave them a man with his house and his heirs, so that in case of need the brethren could lodge with him, and they entrusted all their business to him, and he was bound to serve them. 'No beast of the female sex is allowed within the bounds of Grandmont,' he added, 'but on account of their poverty, the brethren have a dispensation to keep cattle and sheep and animals in their other houses.' Walter Mapes noted that St. Stephen allowed the brethren to keep bees, which could not harm their neighbours.[2] 'They have shut out avarice and embraced poverty,' wrote Stephen, bishop of Tournai, 'and their prayers are not disturbed by the baaing of sheep and the lowing of oxen.'[3] 'They imitate Christ in their lives,' wrote John of Salisbury.[4] They were familiarly called the Bons Hommes and charters were granted to the prior and Boni Homines of Grandmont.[5]

As such desolate sites were chosen by the Grandmontines for their houses, only a small number of brethren could live in each cell. Even in the life of the founder, some of the brethren had been sent out from Muret to find other refuges;[6] under Prior Stephen Lissac, between 1139 and 1163, sixty houses were founded, and the number increased rapidly until there were over 140.[7] About the middle of the

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. Brewer, etc., iv 257, 258 (Rolls Series).
[2] *Gualteri Mapes De Nugis Curialium*, ed. M. R. James, Distinct. I, cap. xvii, p. 26, Anecdota Oxoniensia (1914).
[3] *Epistolae*, pars ii, No. lxxi, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, ccxi 361.
[4] *Joannis Sarisberiensis . . . Policratici . . . libri VIII*, ed. C. C. J. Webb, ii 204–206.
[5] *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, i 7, 194 (Rolls Series).
[6] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cciv 1189.
[7] *Les Archives de la France Monastique*, ed. Beaunier et Besse, Introduction, p. 185.

A DALMATIC FROM GRANDMONT, NOW AT AMBAZAC

twelfth century Grandmont and its cells were organized as an Order, and every year on the feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24, the head of each cell, called the corrector, and the chief lay brother, called the curiosus, came to a general chapter at Grandmont.[1] A clerk and a lay brother came from each cell to a special general chapter to elect the prior of the Order ; they chose six clerks and six lay brothers and swore to accept the prior of their choice ; if a minority of the twelve disagreed, the general chapter chose other electors in their place.[2] The prior was bound never to leave Grandmont.

Grandmont

It is known from Prior Gerard Itier's ' Life of St. Stephen ' that the church of Grandmont was being built between 1139 and 1163. Gerald, the master of the works, had a terrible fall ; the masons and workmen hastened to fetch Prior Stephen Lissac, and it is related that through the intercession of the brethren at the altar of the Virgin and at the tomb of the founder, Gerald recovered by a miracle.[3] Jean Levesque, who compiled ' The Annals of Grandmont,' printed in 1662, noted that large sums of money were given by the Empress Matilda and her son Henry, first when duke of Normandy and afterwards when king of England.[4] In the presbytery of the parish church of Ambazac, between Limoges and Grandmont, there is a dalmatic of reddish-purple silk with yellow arabesques and yellow eagles in circles, which, according to a fifteenth-century inventory of Grandmont, was given to St. Stephen by the Empress Matilda.[5] It was more probably her gift to Prior Stephen Lissac, for she was the wife of the Emperor Henry V of Germany until two years after St. Stephen's death in 1124, and did not come to France as the wife of Geoffrey, count of Anjou, until 1128.[6] Moreover, it is probable that the interest shewn by the Empress Matilda and Henry II in the building of Grandmont was aroused after his marriage in 1152 with Eleanor of

[1] Jean Levesque, *Annales Ordinis Grandimontis* (1662), pp. 118–121 ; *cf.* Migne, *op. cit.* cciv 1037, 1160.
[2] Migne, *op. cit.* cciv 1160, 1161.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 1032, 1033.
[4] Levesque, *op. cit.* p. 141.
[5] Victor Gay, *Glossaire Archéologique*, pp. 467, 468. *Cf.* Courtibaut.
[6] *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxxvii 54–58.

Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII, king of France. Thereby Henry added to his late father's counties of Anjou and Touraine the duchy of Aquitaine, which included the counties of Poitou and Gascony and the overlordship of the land between the Loire and the Pyrenees [1] with the county of La Marche, in which Grandmont was situated.

In 1166 the church of Grandmont was sufficiently advanced for consecration, and the archbishop of Bourges dedicated it in honour of the Virgin, and presented relics of eleven Eastern martyrs.[2] The archbishop of Bordeaux, the bishops of Limoges, Angoulême, Cahors, Séez, and others were present, and monks from the Cluniac abbey of St. Martial at Limoges brought relics of St. Martial. In 1167, on the morrow of the general chapter of the Order, the bishop of Limoges solemnly translated the founder's body from the tomb in the cloister to the church,[3] and it appears to have rested for twenty-two years in the châpel of St. Stephen, the burial-place of the priors. The Empress Matilda died in 1167, and the French chronicler, Geoffrey of Vigeois, noted that she gave thirty thousand shillings, of Angevin money, to Grandmont, and Henry II gave as much on her behalf.[4]

In August 1170 Henry II was dangerously ill at his castle of La Motte de Ger, near Domfront. The chronicler of his reign, who is commonly called Benedict of Peterborough, recorded that Henry II gave instructions to his bishops, earls, and barons that, if he should not recover, they should carry his body for burial to Grandmont, and he shewed them a document in which the brethren had promised to bury him at the entrance to their chapter-house at the feet of their founder.[5] It was probably a letter of fraternity dated before the translation from the tomb in the cloister to the church. The barons protested that it was beneath

[1] Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, i 393, 394.

[2] *Chronicle of Geoffrey of Vigeois*, P. Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca*, ii 317; A. W. Clapham, 'The Order of Grandmont and its Houses in England,' pt. ii 'Architecture,' *Archaeologia*, lxxv 189–192, for a description of the church and a diagram shewing suggested arrangement, also pp. 207–210.

[3] Migne, *op. cit.* cciv 1164, 1165.

[4] *Chronicle of Geoffrey of Vigeois*, Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca*, ii 317.

[5] *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, i 7 (Rolls Series).

the dignity of his kingdom, but he insisted. He recovered and went off on a pilgrimage to Rocamadour in September.[1] On December 29 Archbishop Thomas Becket was murdered in the cathedral church of Canterbury. As soon as the news arrived at Grandmont the prior and brethren stopped the building of the church, sent away Henry II's workmen, and Prior William of Treignac wrote to tell him 'that they could not be partakers of his evil deeds.'[2] 'The gold of your crown is tarnished, and the roses which adorn it have fallen,' wrote the late prior, Peter Bernard de Boschiac.[3] The king did public penance at Canterbury at Becket's tomb in 1174, and the work on the church at Grandmont was resumed with his help. Jean Levesque recorded that on one occasion Henry II sent from La Rochelle to Grandmont 800 carts laden with lead, and each cart was drawn by eight English horses, all of the same colour.[4] The statement sounds fantastic, but the first part is confirmed by two entries in the Great Roll of the Pipe for 1175–6; Henry II paid £40 for lead from the mines near Carlisle for the work of the house of Grandmont, and £12 9*s*. 4*d*. for hiring two ships to carry the lead which he had given to the church of Grandmont from Newcastle to La Rochelle.[5] According to the value of money in 1914, the cost of the lead was £960 and the freight was £180. The carriage from La Rochelle to Grandmont would be charged on the exchequer of Anjou, from which, in the absence of other evidence, it may be assumed that the king's other contributions to the building of Grandmont were paid. He was at Grandmont in November 1177 to meet the count of La Marche, who sold the county to him for £15,000 of Angevin money, twenty mules, and twenty palfreys.[6] He was there again with his son Geoffrey on June 24, 1182, when they ate in the refectory with the brethren who had assembled from all the cells for the general chapter,[7] and in that year Henry

[1] E. Rupin, *Rocamadour: Étude Historique et Archéologique*, p. 195.
[2] Migne, *op. cit.* cciv 1168, 1169; *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. Robertson, vii 448, 449.
[3] Migne, *op. cit.* cciv 1169.
[4] Levesque, *op. cit.* p. 141.
[5] Pipe Roll Society, xxv 137, 141.
[6] *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, i 196; *Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, ii 147, 148.
[7] *Chronicle of Geoffrey of Vigeois*, Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca*, ii 330.

made his will, in which he left £2000 to Grandmont.[1] In 1183 his eldest son, the young Henry, rebelled against him, came to Grandmont, and plundered the treasure of the monastery, not even sparing the gold dove which Henry II had given as the pyx.[2] The young Henry died a few weeks later at Martel in Quercy (department of the Lot), in the stone house of a merchant which still exists. The internal organs were buried at Grandmont after Henry II had promised the bishop of Limoges to restore all that his son had taken away from the treasure, and the body was then removed to Rouen for burial in the choir of the cathedral church.

As soon as Gerard Itier became prior, in 1188, he took steps to procure the canonization of the founder; two brethren, a priest and a lay brother, were sent to Rome with letters from the prior, the general chapter, Henry II, and several bishops.[3] In 1189 Pope Clement III granted the request, and sent a legate to be present at the ceremony on 30th August,[4] not two months after the death of Henry II, who was buried at Fontevrault instead of at Grandmont. The body of St. Stephen was carried in procession round the cloister and placed in a magnificent shrine above the high altar. After the suppression of the Order of Grandmont in 1769, the monastery was granted to the bishop of Limoges, and subsequently he distributed the treasure among the churches of the diocese.[5] The shrine of St. Stephen was given to the parish church of Razès, and handed over to the Government Commissaries for destruction in 1792.[6] It was 3 ft. 3 in. long, 1 ft. wide, and 2 ft. 9 in. high. Pardoux de la Garde, a brother of Grandmont, who died in 1591, wrote that this shrine of St. Stephen was copper-gilt, enamelled and ornamented with crystals and other stones, ' où est par personnages le pourtraict en bosse de la vie du dict sainct entièrement.' [7] One panel from this shrine is now in Paris, at the Musée de Cluny. It represents

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. Brewer, etc., viii 192 (Rolls Series).
[2] *Chronicle of Geoffrey of Vigeois*, Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca*, ii 336.
[3] Migne, *op. cit.* cciv 1048, 1049. [4] *Ibid.* pp. 1049, 1426.
[5] Lecler, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Grandmont*, pp. 458–467.
[6] Rupin, *L'Œuvre de Limoges*, p. 384. [7] *Ibid.* pp. 96, 384.

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ST. STEPHEN OF MURET AND ST. NICHOLAS

From a panel formerly on St. Stephen's shrine. Musée de Cluny

St. Nicholas speaking to St. Stephen. St. Nicholas wears a dark blue chasuble over a grey-blue vestment, his stole is turquoise blue with red embroidery, and he holds a red book with gold clasps. Both saints have yellow hair and beards. St. Stephen wears a tunic of the same grey-blue as that of St. Nicholas under a cloak and hood of a brighter blue; it is commonly assumed to represent the design, but not the colour, of the dress of a Grandmontine brother in the second half of the twelfth century. St. Stephen has a Tau cross, but no nimbus, and it is uncertain if it was omitted by the enameller, or if the shrine was finished before the canonization of the saint. The words are NICOLAZ ERT: PARLA[N] AM EN ETEVE DE MURET,[1] Nicholas était parlant au seigneur Etienne de Muret. A second panel of precisely the same measurements and workmanship is also in the Musée de Cluny.[2] It represents the Adoration of the Kings, the first in green with a blue cloak, the second in grey-blue with a darker blue cloak, the third in blue with a green cloak, reversing the colours of the first. Their crowns are yellow and they carry red pots with blue bands. The Virgin is in grey-blue and the Child is gold. This panel was either on the shrine of St. Stephen or on the front of the high altar, on which the enamels represented stories from the Bible and figures of Apostles and Saints.[3] This altar probably resembled the altars now in the Museum at Burgos and in Orense cathedral in Spain.[4]

Of the six other shrines which were ranged on either side of that of St. Stephen only one has survived, and it is in the parish church of Ambazac, about twelve miles from Limoges on the road to Grandmont. Apart from its remarkable beauty, it is of interest from the tradition, based on a statement in an inventory of 1435, that in form it represented the church of Grandmont.[5]

A panel from another shrine of Grandmont was exhibited

[1] Rupin, *L'Œuvre de Limoges*, p. 97, note 1. In the patois of the country EN for *dominus* (*cf.* Ducange), TEVE for *Etienne*.

[2] *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxv, plate xxix, fig. 2.

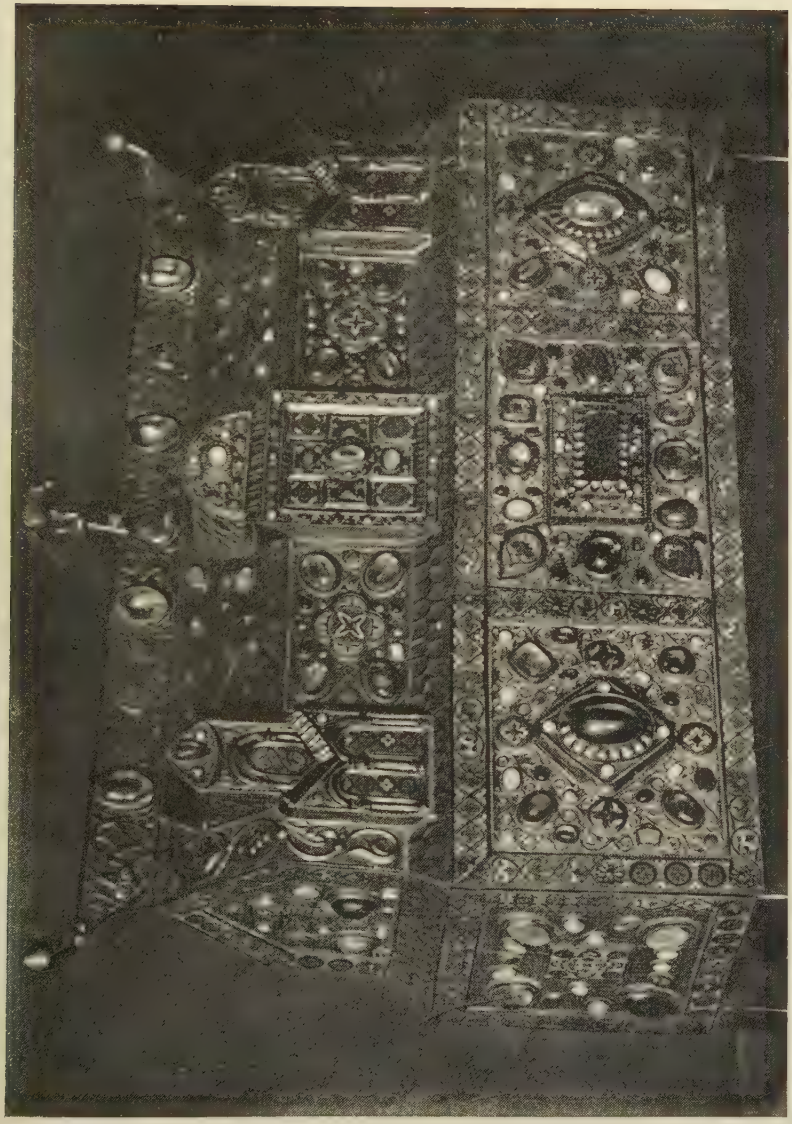
[3] Rupin, *op. cit.* p. 96; E. Bertaux, *L'Exposition Rétrospective de Saragosse*, pp. 329–330.

[4] Rupin, *op. cit.* plate xxii; Bertaux, *op. cit.* plate cviii.

[5] Rupin, *op. cit.* pp. 137–144, figs. 207, 208, 210, 213, 216, 217; A. W. Clapham, *op. cit.* p. 191.

at Tulle in 1887. With the exception of seals, it is the only known representation of a prior of Grandmont.[1] He wears an alb, a dalmatic, and maniple; in one hand he holds a book, and he gives a blessing with the other. The figure is copper-gilt in half-relief on a blue ground.[2] The inscription is 'Guilelmus prior Grandimontis,' and, from the character of the work, Monsieur Rupin believed him to be Prior William of Dongres (1245–8), rather than Prior William of Treignac (1170–89). Other famous relics attracted pilgrims to Grandmont, and they came in great numbers; the solitude of the monastery was only a few miles from the road, passing through St. Léonard to Périgueux, by which pilgrims from eastern France travelled to the shrine of St. James at Compostella.[3] In spite of the founder's precept that the brethren must not go on pilgrimages, two of them, Guy de Blond and Imbert, went to the Holy Land and brought back certain relics as gifts from the Patriarch of Jerusalem and others to Grandmont and other churches in the Limousin.[4] In a letter to the provost and canons of St. Junien, written probably between 1128 and 1144, Guy de Blond vouched for their authenticity, and told the strange tale that on the way home seals attesting the relics were stolen by robbers in the night. French crusaders published the fame of Grandmont. In 1174 Bernard, bishop of Lydda, arrived at Grandmont with a reliquary containing a portion of the true cross, a gift to the brethren from Amaury I, king of Jerusalem, and uncle of Henry II. The reliquary, in the form of a double cross, was Byzantine, and was said to have been given to Amaury at Constantinople; it had a Greek inscription, and the brethren of Grandmont added a Latin inscription to commemorate the gift to them.[5] It disappeared in the French Revolution. In the parish church of Billanges, near Grandmont, there is a figure of St. Stephen vested as a deacon, holding on a cushion, for veneration, a double cross representing the reliquary given

[1] Rupin, *op. cit.* pp. 133, 134.
[2] *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxv, plate xxx, fig. 1.
[3] Bédier, *Les Légendes Épiques*, iii 93.
[4] C. Kohler, *Mélanges pour servir à l'histoire de l'Orient Latin et des Croisades*, i 242–249.
[5] *Chronicle of Geoffrey of Vigeois*, Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca*, ii 320; E. Rupin, *L'Œuvre de Limoges*, pp. 46, 47.



A SHRINE FROM GRANDMONT, NOW AT AMBAZAC

by King Amaury.[1] It was made in the middle of the thirteenth century, as a figure for a shrine, or possibly to be affixed to an altar, and now stands on the base of a cross of an earlier date.

In 1181 the abbot of Siegburg, near Cologne, came with a canon of Bonn to Grandmont, on the way home from a pilgrimage to Rocamadour.[2] He was received into fraternity, and the prior asked him if he could help the brethren to get a body of one of the Virgins who had been martyred at Cologne. Workmen who were digging new foundations for the walls of Cologne in 1106 came on a large number of bones which excited the greatest interest; they were ascribed to St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins martyred by the Huns, and in the course of the twelfth century hundreds of bodies were removed and translated as relics.[3] The abbot of Siegburg promised that if the brethren of Grandmont would come to Cologne he would persuade the archbishop to give them a body, or they should have one from his own monastery. The abbot returned home. Two priests and two lay brothers of Grandmont set out for Cologne, and arrived on the Saturday before Palm Sunday, March 28, after a journey in snow, hail, and heavy rain, through strange lands where men spoke an unknown tongue. They lodged in the abbot's town house, and the next morning they were ferried across the Rhine and entered the abbey church of Siegburg during the Sunday procession. The abbot left the choir to welcome them, and took them into a small chapel apart, where they heard Mass; then they went to the guest-house, where they marvelled at the comfort and the abundance of the food. On the morrow they rose for mattins with the monks, and after Mass they entered the chapter-house and were received into fraternity. The abbot gave them the body of St. Albina, and of another virgin, and invited them to stay all the week. But they departed for Bonn with their guide, the canon of Bonn, Guoderan, and lodged with him, and on the morrow they prayed in the

[1] E. Rupin, *L'Œuvre de Limoges*, pp. 306, 476, 477.

[2] *Itinerarium Fratrum Grandimontensium*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cciv 1225–34.

[3] Mary Tout, 'The Legend of St. Ursula,' *Owens College Historical Essays*, ed. T. F. Tout and J. Tait, pp. 30, 31.

church of the canons and also of a nunnery outside the city, and then returned to Cologne to see the archbishop. He was in a chamber in his palace, surrounded by clerks and barons, and he greeted the brethren warmly when Guoderan introduced them. They presented letters to him, and he sent them to the abbey of St. Martin near by, and after visiting the various monasteries and churches of the city, St. Maria in gradibus, St. Gereon, and the church of the Apostles, and St. Pantaleon, and receiving gifts of relics wherever they went, they started home on Tuesday in Easter week with the bodies of seven of St. Ursula's virgins, besides relics of martyrs of the Theban legion. The bishop of Limoges came out from Grandmont with the prior and brethren in solemn procession with cross, incense, and candles to honour the relics, which were carried into the church and subsequently put into magnificent shrines on the high altar.

The Order of Grandmont

Of the hundred and forty houses founded in France in the twelfth century, two-thirds were situated in Henry II's dominions, twenty-two being in the diocese of Limoges, nineteen in the diocese of Poitiers.[1] The kings of France were also attracted by the brethren of Grandmont; in 1164 Louis VII founded the cell of Bois-de-Vincennes, one of the most important houses of the Order, and Philip Augustus took one of the brethren for his counsellor.[2] Walter Mapes heard of the brethren of Grandmont when he was with Henry II's court at Limoges in 1173: 'our king is so profusely munificent to them,' he wrote, 'that they lack nothing. They give alms to every one but admit no one inside except a bishop or a prince. I am rather afraid of what may come, for now they are present at colloquies and handle the business of kings.'[3]

[1] *Les Archives de la France Monastique*, ed. Beaunier et Besse, Introduction, pp. 185, 186. For a map of the houses in France, cf. *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, vol. xxv, inserted after p. 32. For plans and illustrations of several houses, *cf.* A. W. Clapham, *op. cit.*, *Archaeologia*, lxxv 192–194; *Bulletin Monumentale*, 1874 and 1876 to 1878; D. Rey, *Le Prieuré de Comberoumal* (Rodez, 1925).

[2] Levesque, *Annales Ordinis Grandimontis*, pp. 134, 135.

[3] *Gualteri Mapes De Nugis Curialium*, ed. M. R. James, Distinct. I, cap. xxvi, pp. 54, 55, Anecdota Oxoniensia (1914).

The first sixty years from the foundation of Grandmont was the golden age of the Order. Immediately afterwards its history is a long series of quarrels between the clerks and the lay brothers, and again between the brethren who were subjects of the kings of England and the subjects of the kings of France, who wished to make Bois-de-Vincennes the head house of the Order.[1] The quarrels between the clerks and the lay brothers were so notorious that the popes sent Cistercian abbots and Carthusian priors to settle the differences between them.[2] The bishops had no jurisdiction over the Grandmontine houses, for the whole Order was exempt by the bull of Pope Clement III in 1189.[3] Jacques de Vitry (*obiit* 1240) stated the case for both parties in the dispute.[4] The clerks thought that they ought to be over the lay brothers in all things, as in other Orders in which the capitals were put on top of the pillars and not the bases. The lay brothers insisted that the services in church should be arranged to suit their occupations; the clerks ought to be content to rest and read in the cloister, while they went out and bore the burden and heat of the day; they read nowhere that Mary complained of Martha. The wandering poet, Guiot de Provins, who had been in the Holy Land for the third crusade, and returned to France old and poor, became a monk at Cluny, where he grumbled at his monotonous food and the rule of silence in the refectory.[5] In his satire on the monastic Orders, which he finished about 1206, he praised the services in the church of Grandmont, and the charity of the brethren who gave food to all comers. They ate garlic and soup and hot pepper sauce in their refectory, but the clerks complained that they dared not begin any service in church until the lay brothers gave the order, and if they did the lay brothers beat them well.

[1] Levesque, *op. cit.* pp. 238, 239; Martène, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, vol. i, coll. 630.

[2] Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*, iv 955–963 (ed. 1738).

[3] *Ibid.* An Inspeximus by David, bishop of St. David's, dated October 29, 1300, of an undated Inspeximus by Anselm, bishop of St. David's (1231–47), of this bull of Clement III is in the Muniments of Christ's College, Cambridge, God's House Drawer, A; cf. *Register of Archbishop Corbridge*, i 125–126 (Surtees Society).

[4] J. de Vitry, *Histoire Occidentale*, cap. xix; Levesque, *Annales Ordinis Grandimontis*, pp. 150–153.

[5] *Les Œuvres de Guiot de Provins*, ed. John Orr (Manchester University Publications, 1915), pp. xi–xvi.

'The lay brothers are lords and masters there. I should be frightened if they were my lords. I am frightened when I see them. Rome allows this, and why? Because the lay brothers had gold and silver; when they put the clerks in chains, they gave so much that clerk and priest are subject to them. . . . There the carts go before the oxen.'[1] Great changes were made early in the thirteenth century. Pope Innocent III gave the priors authority in both spiritual and temporal affairs, and control over expenditure, with the right to appoint the lay brothers, who would be responsible to them for the management of temporal affairs.[2] In 1217 Pope Honorius III decreed that the head of each cell, called the corrector, must always be a clerk, and the chief lay brother or curiosus must render a monthly account to him.[3] The lay brothers resented their new subjection, and in 1223 they complained that, contrary to the Rule, the Order now held possessions beyond the sites of their houses, and received charters giving them legal security.[4] After an inquiry held by order of Pope Honorius III, he dispensed the Order from the observance of those chapters of the Rule which forbade them to hold lands outside their houses, to breed animals, to go to markets and fairs, and to defend themselves in courts of law.[5]

The Foundation of the English Houses

Henry II was very generous to Grandmont, and granted the brethren two hundred Angevin pounds a year, and founded cells in his French dominions, among them a priory in a wood on the Seine opposite Rouen,[6] but he gave them nothing in England. In a charter relating to the foundation of the cell of Sarmaize by Richard I, which was forged at Grandmont in the middle of the thirteenth century, it is expressly stated that the prior and brethren refused to cross the sea.[7]

[1] *Les Œuvres de Guiot de Provins*, pp. 55–59.
[2] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, ccxvi 504–506.
[3] Lecler, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Grandmont*, p. 141.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 168–170. [5] *Ibid.* p. 62.
[6] *Rotuli Chartarum*, i 21b (Record Commission).
[7] L. Delisle, 'Examen de treize chartes de l'Ordre de Grandmont,' *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, xx 202, 203.

The first English house was founded about 1204.[1] Joan Fossard, heiress of the Yorkshire lands of William Fossard at Egton, Mulgrave, and Doncaster, gave the prior and brethren of Grandmont a site eight miles from Whitby, in the forest of Egton on the river Esk, two hundred acres of woods, the right to take timber for building in the whole forest, a mill at Egton, pasturage for forty cows and their calves, fifty sheep, ten horses, ten sows, and two boars; a house in York, land at Goldsborough, and the services of one man at Egton, another at Goldsborough, and another at Doncaster.[2] Joan Fossard was the wife of Robert de Turnham, seneschal of Anjou in 1199, and seneschal of Poitou and Gascony from 1201 to 1204.[3] The charter, printed in the *Monasticon* from an eighteenth-century transcript at Limoges, is undated; from the names of two of the witnesses, the chaplain of the important commandery of the Templars at La Rochelle and Aimery de Rochefort, it may be conjectured that Joan Fossard gave the charter at La Rochelle, the port of Poitou, and the only stronghold left to King John in 1204, when Robert de Turnham had been taken prisoner at the castle of Loches in Touraine.[4] The preliminary steps had been taken in 1203; on March 31, at Rouen, John issued a general notification to archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, bailiffs, and others, that the brethren of Grandmont were free of every toll and service due to the crown; an original with a damaged great seal is now in the Archives of All Souls College, Oxford.[5] Before his death in 1211 Robert de Turnham confirmed his wife's charter, and added another hundred acres in the forest.[6] In 1213 King John gave a confirmation charter to this cell,[7] which was called alternatively Eskdale or Grosmont.

The second English house was founded by Walter de Lacy, a great lord in the marches of Wales and of Ireland.

[1] For a description of the buildings of Grosmont Priory, and a conjectural ground-plan, *cf.* A. W. Clapham, *op. cit.*, *Archaeologia*, lxxv 204–206.
[2] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi 1025.
[3] A. Richard, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*, ii 323, 333, 392, 403, 449.
[4] K. Norgate, *John Lackland*, p. 103.
[5] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, No. 112.
[6] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi 1025, 1026; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, ii 532 (Rolls Series).
[7] *Monasticon*, vi 1025.

He was with King John in the expedition to Poitou in 1214; he landed at La Rochelle on March 14, and received a commission to go to Narbonne and buy horses on April 13.[1] John stayed at Grandmont on April 1 and 2,[2] and it is most probable that on the occasion of this war in France Walter de Lacy came in contact with the brethren of Grandmont. He was one of the executors of King John's will, a chief supporter of the young king, Henry III, and sheriff of Herefordshire from 1216 to 1223.[3] After a period of considerable disturbance along all the Welsh borderland, peace was restored in 1225, and probably about that date Walter de Lacy gave the prior and brethren of Grandmont a site at Craswall,[4] in a valley of the hills near the Black Mountain, on the borders of Herefordshire and Brecon, a few miles to the west of his castle of Ewyas Lacy. A seal of Walter de Lacy was at Grandmont in the sixteenth century,[5] but there is no transcript at Limoges of the original charter. The charter of confirmation which Walter gave to the prior of the Order of Grandmont and the brethren dwelling at Craswall is in the Archives of Christ's College, Cambridge.[6] He confirmed to them in pure and perpetual alms the whole of their land between the river Monnow and the stream of Leth, six hundred acres measured by the long hundred, with woods, and pasturage for all their animals in the new forest and across the water by mountains, valleys, and woods as far as Talgarth, and common pasture of ten beasts and their horses with his own. He granted them the right to take all they needed in the aforesaid place and forest to build their house and mills, and also the right to make fish-ponds in the Leth and the Monnow. In the original charter he had granted a tenth of the rents of all his manors in Herefordshire, Shropshire, and Wiltshire; in the confirmation charter he gave instead the ninth sheaf of corn and oats in all his

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography* xxxi 390–392; Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, v 240, 256–271.

[2] 'Itinerarium Johannis regis Anglie,' ed. T. D. Hardy, *Archaeologia*, xxii 153.

[3] K. Norgate, *John Lackland*, p. 285; *Minority of Henry III*, p. 204.

[4] For a description of the buildings of Craswall Priory, a ground-plan, and several illustrations, *cf.* A. W. Clapham, *op. cit.*, *Archaeologia*, lxxv 194–199.

[5] *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Limousin*, xxv 379.

[6] Muniments of Christ's College, Cambridge, God's House Drawer, C.

manors in England and Wales ; he gave also a tenth of the hides of all cattle slaughtered in his castle at Ewyas, the services of one man at Ewyas, another at Weobley, and another at Ludlow, and a tenth from the mills of his Irish lands in Meath. This endowment was to maintain ten priests and three clerks to reside perpetually at Craswall, and offer service to God in the church ; in accordance with the custom of the Order, there would be at least an equal number of lay brethren. This site, over twelve hundred feet up, in a valley about a mile from the desolate Black Mountain, fulfilled the conditions of St. Stephen of Muret, but it was a wild and inhospitable spot, and soon after the coming of the Grandmontine brethren to Craswall, Walter de Lacy gave them two hundred and four acres in his manor of Holme Lacy in the valley of the Wye, some four miles south of Hereford.[1] In a third charter he gave them an endowment in Ireland, one burgage in each of his towns, one messuage in each of his manors and the ninth sheaf of all wheat, oats, barley, peas, and beans.[2] All the endowments of Craswall were included in the confirmation charter given by Henry III in 1231.[3]

Soon after the brethren of Grandmont settled at Craswall, a third house was founded at Alberbury[4] on the river Severn, eight miles west of Shrewsbury on the Welsh borderland. The founder was Fulk FitzWarine III,[5] the hero of the Romance, written in French before 1310, which begins : ' In the time of April and May when once again the meadows and pastures become green, and all living things renew their virtue and their beauty and strength, and the hills and the valleys resound with the sweet warble of the birds, and by reason of the beauty and of the season, all hearts are uplifted and made glad, then is it meet that we should call to remembrance the adventures and the brave deeds of our ancestors who made endeavour to seek honour

[1] A. T. Bannister, ' A Lost Cartulary of Hereford Cathedral,' *Woolhope Club Transactions* (1914–17), p. 276.

[2] Muniments of Christ's College, Cambridge, God's House Drawer B.

[3] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi 1035.

[4] For a description of the buildings of Alberbury Priory, a ground-plan, and several illustrations, *cf.* A. W. Clapham, *op. cit.*, *Archaeologia*, lxxv 199–203.

[5] Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vii 71–80.

in loyalty.'[1] It is a tale of strange adventures by land and sea, in which both Fulk FitzWarine and his enemy Walter de Lacy were confused with their fathers.

According to the sober facts of history, Fulk FitzWarine had a castle at Alberbury, now a ruin, close to the parish church. Between 1221 and 1226 he built 'a house of religion,' and gave it to Abbot Alan and the convent of Augustinian canons of Lilleshall, fifteen and a half miles east of Shrewsbury, on condition that they sent a prior and several canons to reside there.[2] After a few years Abbot Alan's successor, Abbot William, and the canons of Lilleshall decided that the house at Alberbury was not as profitable to them as they had hoped, in fact it was a heavy expense; accordingly they renounced any claim to the priory, gave back their charter to Fulk FitzWarine, and agreed that, with the advice of the bishop of Hereford, he could give the house at Alberbury to men of any religious Order.[3] It is easy to conjecture why Fulk decided to offer Alberbury to the brethren of Grandmont. The suggestion may have come from Hugh Foliot, bishop of Hereford, who had confirmed Walter de Lacy's grants to Craswall,[4] and also confirmed Fulk FitzWarine's gift to Alberbury.[5] Fulk's brother, William FitzWarine, held land in Walter de Lacy's manor of Holme Lacy, and he witnessed one of the Craswall charters as well as Fulk's charter of confirmation to Alberbury.[6] In 1226 Fulk and Walter de Lacy were negotiating for a marriage between Fulk's son and De Lacy's niece.[7]

In his charter of confirmation Fulk stated that he had founded and built a house of religion, in honour of God and of the Virgin Mary, for brethren of the Order of Grandmont, and he confirmed the site and its appurtenances, from the

[1] *Cf.* H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in Dept. of MSS., British Museum*, pp. 501–508; Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, xi 29–42; *History of Fulk FitzWarine*, translated by A. Kemp-Welch. The French text and a translation are printed in *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum, etc.*, ed. J. Stevenson (Rolls Series).

[2] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, No. 118; Eyton, *op. cit.* viii 225. William succeeded Alan in 1226.

[3] *Ibid.* Alberbury, Nos. 112, 118.

[4] *Woolhope Club Transactions* (1914–17), p. 272.

[5] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, No. 110.

[6] Muniments of Christ's College, God's House Drawer, B; Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, No. 107.

[7] *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxxi 391.

stream descending between his land at Alberbury and Eyton, forty square perches in his wood and twenty perches along the stream, besides twenty-four acres which he gave for the soul of his wife Matilda, when her body was buried in the church of the brethren.[1] He gave the brethren the right to make ponds and mills with use of his water, and also of his quarry, and of gravel and sand. He also endowed the monastery with the manor of Whadborough in Leicestershire, and he stipulated that Alberbury should be subject only to the head house of Grandmont. The charter was confirmed by Henry III in 1232.[2] In 1252 when Fulk was at his other castle of Whittington, near Oswestry, he gave a messuage in Whittington, and bequeathed his body for burial to the brethren of Grandmont at Alberbury.[3] He died before 1260, but the precise date is not known. According to the Romance, he was blind for the last seven years of his life, and endured his penance with patience. His second wife, Clare, died and was buried in the New Abbey; a year later Fulk died at Whittington and was buried near the altar of the New Abbey with great honour.[4]

In official documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Alberbury Priory is described as the priory of Nova Abbacia,[5] the Nouvelle Abbaye of the Romance. In a document in the register of Bishop Booth of Hereford, dated 1521, it is the priory of the New Abbey, otherwise called the Black Abbey;[6] in a document of the same year at All Souls College it is called the White Abbey or the Black Abbey.[7] Some years later, when Leland was travelling in Shropshire, he wrote: 'By Aberbyri Church appere the ruines of Fulke Guarene, the noble warrior's castel, and less than a mile of was Album Monasterium where he is buried.'[8] In leases of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and

[1] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, No. 107; Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vii 76. Matilda was dead in 1226.
[2] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi 1031.
[3] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, No. 115.
[4] *History of Fulk FitzWarine*, translated by A. Kemp-Welch, pp. 117, 120.
[5] E.g. *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1381–85, p. 40; *ibid.* 1388–92, p. 352; *ibid.* 1413–16, p. 165; *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1369–74, p. 547.
[6] *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, Charles Booth*, ed. A. T. Bannister (Canterbury and York Society), p. 97.
[7] *Catalogue of Archives of All Souls*, ed. Trice Martin, p. 16.
[8] Leland, *Itinerarium*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, iv 1, v 15.

eighteenth centuries it is described as the New or Black Abbey.[1] At the present day it is commonly called the White Abbey, in accordance with the wrong derivation which was suggested by Leland in the sixteenth century.

There were no other houses of the Order in England. In 1217 the brethren of Grandmont received the manor of Bulwell in Nottinghamshire from Henry III, and came there to build a house, but they left it in 1223.[2] The houses of Bonshommes at Ashridge in Buckinghamshire and Edingdon in Wiltshire did not belong to the Order of Grandmont; they are described particularly as brethren of the Order of St. Augustine.[3] The familiar name of Bonshommes was not given only to the brethren of Grandmont.[4]

The History of the English Houses and of their Relations with Grandmont

The history of the English houses is a struggle with poverty; they were administered for the benefit of Grandmont. The prior of Grandmont, as head of the Order, had the right to appoint the heads of the houses, who were called correctors within the Order, although in charters and other documents they are called custodes, sometimes priors. The correctors held office during the pleasure of the prior of Grandmont; they were bound to attend general chapters frequently, if not every year, and to bring with them the annual pension due to the mother-house. The brethren were unable to sell or alienate any property without the consent of the prior of Grandmont; Brother Geoffrey was sent from Grandmont to recover everything which had been alienated, and in 1245 the brethren of Alberbury were compelled to revoke a lease granted for forty-one years and to pay back £32 10s. received for it.[5] In 1247 the seal of

[1] *Catalogue of Archives of All Souls*, ed. Trice Martin, pp. 16–18.
[2] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1216–25, p. 123.
[3] *E.g.* both Ashridge and Edingdon, in the Edingdon Cartulary, MS. Lansdowne 442, fos. 18v, 19, in both royal charters and episcopal documents. Edingdon is once wrongly described as of the Order of Grandmont, *Cal. of Papal Registers*, v 362; for Ashridge as of the Order of St. Augustine, cf. *Cal. of Papal Registers*, ii 573.
[4] Heimbücher, *Die Orden und Congregationen*, ii 46, 182.
[5] Archives of All Souls, Whadborough, No. 19.

William, prior of Grandmont, was affixed to an agreement between the brethren of Alberbury and the prior and convent of Launde.[1] It became clear that it was impossible to govern the English houses from the centre of France. In 1252 Adémar, prior of Grandmont, notified all the brethren, both clerks and lay brothers, of Craswall, Alberbury, and Eskdale that he had appointed Brother Reginald as corrector of Craswall, and with the consent of the general chapter he had delegated his authority to Reginald in both spiritual and temporal matters, and had given him authority to institute correctors and curiosi, to remove clerks and lay brothers from one house to another, to receive novices, and to exercise plenary jurisdiction by punishing offenders, excommunicating rebels, or even expelling them from the Order.[2] For the next fifty years this office, which was in fact that of a vicar-general, appears to have been held by the corrector of Craswall, but when that house was nearly ruined the supremacy passed to Alberbury.

In 1253 Reginald, corrector of Craswall, sold the manor of Holme Lacy to Peter of Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford, for the sum of £366 13*s.* 4*d.* to buy lands and rents for the maintenance of brethren at Grandmont who would pray for the souls of Walter de Lacy and all the faithful departed.[3] The transaction was sanctioned by Pope Alexander IV in 1255.[4] The lands at Holme Lacy had involved the brethren of Craswall in difficulties almost from the beginning. In 1234 Henry III exempted them from distraints at Holme Lacy on account of Walter de Lacy's debts to the Jews;[5] his creditors harried the brethren again after his death in 1241; the royal instruction was repeated in 1242 and ordered to be enrolled.[6] By the sale of Holme Lacy in 1253 the major portion of the endowment of Craswall was diverted to Grandmont. Sixty years later the prior of Grandmont was informed that the patron of Craswall had expelled the corrector and all the brethren but one, and had said that they

[1] Archives of All Souls, Whadborough, No. 24.
[2] MS. Harl. 6203, fo. 26, British Museum.
[3] *Ibid.* fo. 26^{v}; cf. *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, Thomas de Cantilupe*, ed. Capes, pp. 128, 129 (Canterbury and York Society).
[4] *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, ed. Capes, pp. 106, 107 (Cantilupe Society).
[5] *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1231–34, p. 367. [6] *Ibid.* 1237–42, p. 505.

should not return, or any others of the Order, unless they were brethren of discretion and wisdom who could lift up the house of Craswall, which was nearly ruined by the others.[1] In 1291 their possessions were assessed for taxation at £5 13*s.* 4*d.*, and the manor of Holme Lacy, which had passed to the dean and chapter of Hereford, was assessed at over £6.[2] The possessions of Eskdale were then assessed at £8.[3] In 1294 Peter de Mauley confirmed the mill at Egton to the brethren of the English nation, and added that in future he would not allow visitors from Grandmont or any brother from across the seas to have any claim on the mill, or to ruin any of the temporal possessions in his fee, as they had done in the time of his ancestors.[4]

Alberbury was more slenderly endowed than Eskdale and Craswall, but the brethren inspired much affection in their neighbours. In the archives of All Souls College there are over a hundred documents relating to gifts of land in Alberbury, Wylaston, Peckenhall, Eyton, Bausley, Swottington, Loton, Woodmore, and Shrewsbury; some were very small, an acre or less. Roger Eyton gave them an acre in Eyton to provide ropes for the great bell.[5] The founder had not endowed the brethren with a man and his heirs to render service to them, and in 1267 Roger Eyton entered into a contract with the brethren to do all their business, except that he would not cross the seas.[6] They undertook to provide him with a room in which he could put his bed and keep his personal possessions, and he gave them £1 to build it; he could stay there when he pleased, and have his food and forage for his horse, and if he was at Eyton, he would receive a loaf of the better bread and a gallon of beer every day. He would provide his own clothes and shoes, but if his horse died when on the service of the brethren, they would give him another. When he died, all his possessions would fall to the fabric fund of the church, and the brethren would bury him in their cemetery as if he were one of themselves.

[1] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, No. 120.
[2] *Taxation of Pope Nicholas*, pp. 170, 172, 274b (Record Commission).
[3] *Ibid.* 305b.
[4] J. C. Atkinson, *History of Cleveland, Ancient and Modern*, i 202 note.
[5] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, No. 44. [6] *Ibid.*, No. 47.

The brethren of Alberbury secured the most valuable part of their endowment in 1259, when Peter of Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford, appropriated the parish church of Alberbury to them, though with the intention of benefiting the mother-house of Grandmont. He said that he had considered the poverty of Grandmont, the multitude of its good works daily in providing for the poor who abounded in the land of France, its admirable hospitality to guests and travellers, and the continuous service of God in the church. On condition that Grandmont and Alberbury kept the anniversary of his death, the bishop gave half the fruits to each house.[1] For the next thirty years Grandmont received nothing from the fruits of Alberbury; the tithes could not be collected as the parish was on the borders of Wales and the claim to jurisdiction over the district of Gordwyr on the right bank of the Severn was in dispute between the bishops of Hereford and St. Asaph.[2] Welsh rectors and their parishioners raided cattle and robbed barns, and even snatched bodies from Alberbury churchyard.[3] In 1287 two visitors were sent from Grandmont to England, Adémar, corrector of La Bellière, and Guy Crespi, and they summoned Roger of Craswall, as prior of the Order in England, to meet them at Alberbury, and to assess the amount to be paid to Grandmont from the fruits of the parish church.[4] Roger was detained in London on business relating to Craswall, but he ratified the agreement which was made in the chapter-house at Alberbury on October 22, by which the brethren pledged themselves to pay £6 13*s.* 4*d.* a year to Grandmont.[5]

A year later the boundary dispute between the dioceses was settled. A commission consisting of a canon of St. Asaph, a canon of Hereford, four inhabitants of the district in dispute, and five from its neighbourhood rode on November 22 from Thornbury near Montgomery to Alberbury priory, and on the morrow they rode back to Chirbury

[1] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, No. 116; Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672.

[2] *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, Thomas de Cantilupe*, ed. Capes, p. xxxi (Canterbury and York Society).

[3] *Ibid., Cantilupe*, pp. 132, 288; *Richard Swinfield*, ed. Capes, p. 202 (Canterbury and York Society).

[4] Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672.

[5] *Ibid.* liasse 1672.

priory.[1] On November 24 they swore an oath that the river Severn, from the ford called Rydwymma near Montgomery to the ford at Shrawardyn, was the ancient boundary of the diocese, and all of them put their seals on the document. It was taken at once to Swinfield, bishop of Hereford, and on the next day he entered the ford of Rydwymma to the middle of the river, and then rode from sixteen to twenty miles to the ford of Shrawardyn, preaching and giving absolution, granting indulgences, and confirming a great number of children.[2] On November 27 he heard Mass in the priory church of Alberbury.[3] On May 4, 1289, he dedicated the parish church, and received hospitality at the priory for himself and his household, and forage for thirty-six horses,[4] a heavy expense for the brethren, but there is no other record in the episcopal registers of Hereford of the presence of a bishop at Alberbury until ninety-eight years afterwards. Without the fruits of the parish church, assessed for taxation in 1291 at £25, the brethren of Alberbury would have been poorer than those of Craswall; for their small rents, six cows, and sixty sheep were assessed at £3 16*s*.[5]

At the general chapter of the Order at Grandmont in 1295 the number of the brethren in the different cells was reduced; Eskdale and Craswall were limited to nine brethren, Alberbury to six.[6]

In 1315 there were rival priors of Grandmont, Jordan of Rapistan, who was deposed but remained in possession of Grandmont, and Elias, who had been elected by some of the brethren in the chapter-house of the Franciscan friars of Limoges.[7] On March 7, 1315, Prior Elias wrote to Arnold Rissa, corrector of Alberbury, giving him a commission to receive the obedience of his brethren and of the other correctors or curiosi in England, either going in person to the other houses, or sending a trustworthy brother in his

[1] *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, Swinfield*, ed. Capes, pp. 204–207 (Canterbury and York Society).
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 207, 208.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 208.
[4] *Household Book of Bishop Swinfield*, ed. J. Webb, i 81 (Camden Society).
[5] *Taxation of Pope Nicholas*, pp. 163, 167 (Record Commission).
[6] *Bull. Soc. Arch. et Hist. du Limousin*, xxiii 67.
[7] Levesque, *op. cit.* p. 254.

place.[1] He had heard that Prior Jordan had ordered Arnold Rissa to sell a manor and come to Grandmont in person with the money. 'We forbid you to sell or alienate anything without our special permission,' Elias continued; 'act as cautiously and faithfully in the business of your house as we hear you have in the past, and now that you are an old man, refrain from acting as you would not have done in your youth. . . . We will not speak about your coming to see us, but if you can, we shall receive you with pleasure, if the house of Alberbury would not suffer by your absence.'

Owing to the quarrels between the rival priors of Grandmont and the serious financial straits of the mother-house and many of the cells, Pope John XXII reconstituted the Order in 1317.[2] The priory of Grandmont was raised to the status of an abbey, to be served by sixty priests; thirty-nine of the larger cells were called conventual priories, and 113 other cells were united to them. The total number of the brethren was reduced from 886 in 1295 to 712.[3] The prior of Grandmont had been elected by the correctors and curiosi from each cell; the abbot was elected solely by the brethren of the mother-house, and the election was confirmed by the four visitors of Grandmont. Among the fifteen cells united to Grandmont were the only houses outside France, the three in England and the two in northern Spain, Estella and San Marcial de Tudela. There was no change in the relations between Grandmont and the English houses; the correctors were called priors and appointed and removed by the abbot of Grandmont, and they took the oath of fealty to him in these words: 'I brother N. promise to you, my lord N., abbot of Grandmont, that henceforth I will be obedient and faithful, and that I will come to the general chapter of your Order. I will pay the annual pensions due to you and your monastery, and I will do other things which you may command me, and I will not sell, give or alienate in any way any of the possessions of my priory without the knowledge of the abbot of Grandmont.'[4]

[1] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, No. 120.
[2] Levesque, *op. cit.* pp. 255–275.
[3] Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus* (ed. 1738), iv 908.
[4] Levesque, *op. cit.* pp. 329, 330.

William, first abbot of Grandmont (1316–36), attempted to settle the strife between Alberbury and Craswall. Arnold Rissa, prior of Alberbury, had been appointed prior of the Order in England in 1315. Abbot William excommunicated him, and the sentence was notified throughout the diocese of Hereford, but subsequently he made his peace with the abbot and received absolution, 'tacita veritate et expressa falsitate,' according to the complaint of Peter Grimoaldi, prior of Craswall and of the Order in England. In an undated letter[1] to Abbot William, Peter declared that Arnold Rissa was responsible for the seizure of goods collected by Peter to pay the abbot, and he himself had suffered from toil and hunger, from potions and witchcraft, from arrest and bloodshed, and Arnold rejoiced over his tribulations. He concluded in these words: 'Unless you ordain that all the houses and brethren in England shall be under the obedience of one faithful brother, you will enjoy nothing from them.' In 1319 Edward II gave protection for one year to Brother Ralph Grymordi, proctor of Grandmont, going through the realm on the business of that house.[2]

The Hundred Years War

At the beginning of the Hundred Years War with France in 1337 orders were issued for the seizure of alien priories, and as on this occasion the bishops were required to make a return of all alien houses in their dioceses, the Grandmontine priories did not escape notice,[3] as in the wars of Edward I and Edward II. There was no money to pay a yearly rent to the exchequer and maintain the brethren. Not three months after Craswall was seized, in 1341, the escheator received an order from the crown to provide reasonable maintenance for the prior and brethren, which he had neglected to do.[4] In 1342 Edward III gave the custody of Craswall, for so long as the war continued, to the patron, Bartholomew de Burghersh, without rendering

[1] Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672.
[2] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1317–21, p. 390.
[3] *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1343–46, p. 291; cf. *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, John de Trillek*, ed. Parry, p. 288 (Canterbury and York Society).
[4] *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1343–46, p. 292.

anything to the exchequer, on condition that he provided reasonable maintenance for the prior and brethren.[1] After an inquisition at Egton in 1344, the escheator for Yorkshire reported that all the brethren of Eskdale were English, but the prior was bound to pay a yearly pension of thirty shillings to the abbot of Grandmont. The cell was assessed for taxation at £8, but it was worth £20; there were twenty-four oxen, four cows and their calves, a horse and two mares, 100 sheep and forty lambs, twenty quarters of wheat, and 100 quarters of oats.[2] There were nine brethren and four servants besides labourers to plough and look after the beasts. Five men had corrodies of the value of thirty shillings a year. The brethren gave hospitality to all passers by, but the lands and livestock did not provide for reasonable sustenance for the brethren and their servants and for other expenses without the alms of the good men of the country. Eskdale was therefore released from custody. In 1344 a similar inquisition was held at Alberbury, when it was stated, though incorrectly, that the prior was dative at the will of Fulk FitzWarine, lord of Whittington; the lands and rents were only worth forty-one shillings and twopence a year, the value of the livestock was £9 6*s*., and the great tithes of the parish were worth £13 6*s*. 8*d*., and this did not suffice for the prior, six brethren, and their servants. The chancery rolls had been searched, and as it was found that the house had not been seized before, it was released on account of its extreme poverty.[3]

Although no pensions were paid to Grandmont, and no visitors were sent to England on account of the war,[4] the abbots of Grandmont continued to nominate the priors of Alberbury. Prior Richard of Stretton killed a woman called Alice of Chirbury at the priory by a mischance, and absented himself for many years until he was pardoned by the king and absolved by the pope.[5] John of Cublington, a brother of Eskdale, left his house without leave and with a sum of

[1] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1343–45, p. 437.
[2] *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1343–46, p. 76; *Cal. of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, Chancery*, ii 467, 468.
[3] *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1343–46, p. 408.
[4] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, No. 122.
[5] *Ibid.* No. 123; *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1361–64, p. 347.

money, and induced the abbot of Grandmont to nominate him prior of Alberbury and also of Craswall. In 1357 Edward III appointed a commission to inquire into his conduct at Alberbury.[1] He had alienated manors without the consent of the brethren, carried away relics and vestments, killed a woman called Alice Peckenhall, and atrociously wounded one of the brethren, for which reason the bishop of Hereford had laid an interdict on the priory church; and he had put in eight men of powerful build to collect the goods and profits of the priory. In 1359 two brethren of Alberbury wrote a letter to the abbot of Grandmont, giving a detailed account of the evil deeds of John of Cublington, who had withdrawn to Craswall, and begging him to intervene.[2] It was written by a notary, and a chaplain carried it to Grandmont. On September 16, 1359, Adémar Crespi, abbot of Grandmont, addressed a long letter to the brethren of the three English houses; he deposed John of Cublington and appointed Brother Robert of Newton as prior of Alberbury, with power to appoint priors to Eskdale and Craswall; and he instructed him to visit the three houses once a year, either personally or by a faithful priest, and to get a faithful account of receipts and expenses, and to see that there was a common seal in each priory in the custody of two brethren.[3] Five years later Robert of Newton was dead, and Abbot Adémar intervened in the struggle between two rival priors of Alberbury; he asked the officials of the archdeacons of Coventry, Stafford, and Shrewsbury to hold an inquiry and restore the rightful claimant, who should attend the general chapter of Grandmont once in two years and be prompt in paying the annual pension in full.[4] Grandmont was in serious financial straits. In August 1370 it was occupied by French soldiers, and six weeks later the brethren fled to escape the vengeance of the Black Prince, who had recaptured Limoges.[5] Before 1380 the monastery was occupied for some time by one of the armed bands who were devastating France.

[1] Rot. Pat. 31 Ed. III, pt. i, m. 24d.
[2] Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672.
[3] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, No. 122.
[4] *Ibid.* No. 123.
[5] Denifle, *La Désolation des églises et monastères en France*, vol. ii, pt. ii, p. 657.

When war with France was renewed, in the reign of Richard II, the three English priories were seized and not released. According to Jean Levesque, who compiled the Annals of Grandmont from the records of the monastery, Abbot Pierre de Redondeau (1388 ?–1437) visited England as an ambassador for the king of France.[1] It is certain that he lost hope of recovering anything from the English houses, and, like some other French abbots, he was willing to sell them if possible. In 1394 he renounced his rights to the advowson of Eskdale and all its property, and any claim to any pension therefrom, in favour of John Hewett alias Sergeant and his heirs for ever.[2] The transaction was recognized by Richard II on condition that during the war thirty shillings a year should be paid to the exchequer, and all connexion between Eskdale and Grandmont was severed. Eskdale had suffered from special misfortunes. In 1360, on the ground that a fire had destroyed the church, bell-tower, cloister, refectory, dormitory, and nearly the whole priory, together with the bells, vestments, and church vessels, and help was needed to rebuild and replace them, Pope Innocent VI granted an indulgence of a year and forty days of enjoined penance to penitents who gave alms and visited the church on the five feasts of our Lord, the five feasts of the Virgin Mary, those of Pentecost, of St. Bartholomew, and of the dedication.[3] In 1387 Pope Urban VI sent a commission to the abbot of Whitby to recover property which had been unlawfully alienated from Eskdale.[4] The house continued its obscure existence until the suppression of the smaller monasteries in 1536, when there were five brethren.[5]

Craswall and Alberbury remained in the king's hands as alien priories, and bare necessities were supplied to the brethren. The payment of any apports to French mother-houses ceased after 1414,[6] and the greater part of the revenues of the two houses was paid to Joan, queen consort of Henry IV, until her death, and subsequently to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester.[7]

[1] Levesque, *op. cit.* p. 331.
[2] Rot. Pat. 18 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 11.
[3] *Cal. of Papal Petitions*, i 352.
[4] Harl. Charter 43 A. 47, British Museum.
[5] *V.C.H., Yorkshire*, iii 194.
[6] *Rolls of Parliament*, iv 22; Rymer, *Foedera*, ix 280, 281.
[7] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1413–16, p. 165; *ibid.* 1436–41, p. 189.

The question of the alien priories was finally settled in the reign of Henry VI. In a letter to the convocation of Canterbury in 1438 the king lamented the decay of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 'the two luminaries from which the chief part of the fame and glory of the crown and kingdom are derived,' and desired help for them out of the patrimony of the Church.[1] In 1441 Alberbury priory was given to Archbishop Chicheley's new foundation, All Souls College, Oxford,[2] and Craswall priory to God's House, Cambridge,[3] afterwards united to Christ's College. There is a sense of fitness in this new endowment. The link with Grandmont was forged by Henry II, 'with whom,' wrote Peter of Blois, 'there is school every day, constant conversation of the best scholars and discussion of questions.'[4] Alberbury and Craswall still serve to promote the cause of religion and sound learning.[5]

[1] *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, ed. G. Williams, i 55, 56 (Rolls Series).

[2] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1436–41, p. 563.

[3] Muniments of Christ's College, God's House Drawer, H; confirmed by Edward IV; cf. *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1461–67, p. 217.

[4] Stubbs, *Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*, p. 137.

[5] It is a pleasure to record my thanks to Sir Charles Oman, F.S.A., for the privilege of working in the library at All Souls, where I had access to the large collection of Alberbury documents; and to the Sub-Librarian, Mr. Whitaker; to the Warden of All Souls for permission to have casts made of the seals and a photograph of the plan of Alberbury in 1579 (*Archaeologia*, vol. lxxv, plates xxxi and xxxv); to Mr. Sidney Campbell, Bursar of Christ's College, for access to the small collection of Craswall documents and permission to work in the library; to Monsieur Petit, archiviste de la Haute Vienne at Limoges, for the transcripts of several documents; to Prebendary Clark-Maxwell, F.S.A., Mr. R. C. Fowler, F.S.A., and to Mr. H. S. Kingsford for helpful suggestions. Lastly, I wish to pay tribute to the learning of the present Benedictines of Ligugé, who compile and publish *Les Archives de la France Monastique*, to which I am indebted for many references to French sources for the history of Grandmont.

APPENDIX I

A List of Priors and Abbots of Grandmont to 1470, of Priors of the Order in England, and of the Priors of the Three English Houses

The Order of Grandmont

Priors [1]

St. Stephen	*ob.* 1124
Peter of Limoges	1124–37
Peter of St. Christophe	1137–9
Stephen Lissac	1139–53
Peter Bernard	1153–70
William of Treignac	1170–89
Gerald Itier	1189–98
Adémar of Friac	1199–1216
Caturcin	1216–29
Elias Arnaud	1229–39
John de l'Aigle	1239–42
Adémar de la Vergne [2]	1242–5
William de Dongres	1245–8
Itier Merle	1248, occurs 1260
Guy Archer	resigned 1269
Foucher Grimouard	1269–81
Peter de Causac	1281 or 2–1290–1
(deposed in favour of Bernard of Rissa and afterwards restored)	
Bernard de Gandelmar	1291
Guy Foucher	1291–1306
William de Prémaurel	1306–12
Jourdain de Rapistang	1312–16
Elias Adémar	1316

By a bull of 1317 Grandmont was created an abbey by Pope John XXII.

Abbots

William Pellicier	1317–36
Peter Aubert	1336–47
John Chabrit	1347–55

[1] The list of priors and abbots is taken from Lecler, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Grandmont*, pp. 4–6, which is based on Levesque, *Annales Ordinis Grandimontis*.

[2] Adémar de la Vergne appears to have been prior again in 1252 and 1255, *cf.* MS. Harl. 6203, fo. 26; Bosredon, *Sigillographie de la Haute Vienne*, p. 220, for his seal attached to a document of 1255.

Adémar Crespi	1355–78
Aimeric Fabri	1378–85
Ranulf Itier	1385–88
Peter Redondeau	1388–1437
William Fumel	1437–70

Priors of the Order of Grandmont in England

Reginald,[1] appointed 1252, occurs 1253.
Peter,[2] occurs 1255.
Hugh,[3] occurs 1259.
Roger of Craswall,[4] occurs 1287 and 1294.
Arnold Rissa,[5] occurs 1315.
Peter Grimoald,[6] occurs *circa* 1317.
Robert Newton,[7] appointed 1359.

Priors of Craswall

Simon de Clifford,[8] occurs before 1231.
Geoffrey,[9] occurs 1233.
Reginald,[10] occurs 1252 and 1253.
Hugh,[11] occurs 1259.
Roger,[12] occurs 1287 and 1289.
John of Cublington,[13] occurs 1359.

Priors of Grosmont

Roger,[14] occurs 1287.
William Whitby,[15] occurs 1469.
John Banks,[16] occurs *circa* 1518.
James Egton alias Ableson,[17] occurs 1536.

[1] MS. Harl. 6203, fos. 26, 26v, British Museum.
[2] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Whadborough, No. 26.
[3] *Ibid.* Alberbury, No. 117.
[4] Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672; J. C. Atkinson, *History of Cleveland, Ancient and Modern*, i 202 note.
[5] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, No. 120.
[6] Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672.
[7] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, No. 122.
[8] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi 490.
[9] *Woolhope Club Transactions* (1914–17), p. 271.
[10] MS. Harl. 6203, fos. 26, 26v, British Museum.
[11] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, No. 117.
[12] Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672; *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, Richard Swinfield*, ed. W. W. Capes (Canterbury and York Society), p. 223.
[13] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, No. 122.
[14] *Guisborough Cartulary* (Surtees Society), ii 154.
[15] *Yorkshire Archaeol. Soc.* (Record Series), xvii 72.
[16] *V.C.H. Yorkshire*, iii 194.
[17] *Ibid.*

Priors of Alberbury

Lambert.[1]
Geoffrey,[2] occurs 1245.
Peter of London,[3] occurs 1247, 1248.
John,[4] occurs 1255.
Randolph,[5] occurs 1259 and 1267.
Peter de Corcellis,[6] occurs 1286 and 1289.
Gerard,[7] occurs 1298.
Roger,[8] occurs 1299.
Arnold Rissa,[9] occurs 1315 and 1338.
Stephen,[10] occurs 1346.
Richard of Hatton,[11] occurs 1347.
John of Cublington,[12] occurs 1357 and 1359.
Robert Newton,[13] occurs 1359.
Richard of Stretton,[14] described as late prior in 1363.
Richard of Hatton,[15] occurs 1363, 1365, 1381, 1388.
John Colle,[16] 1391.
Robert, [17] occurs 1421.

APPENDIX II

A Note on Some Seals[18]

1. The Seals of Fulk FitzWarine

Fulk FitzWarine, the founder of Alberbury, was the son of Fulk FitzWarine and Hawisa de Dinan. He married (1) in 1207

[1] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Whadborough, No. 19.
[2] *Ibid.*, Whadborough, No. 19.
[3] *Ibid.*, Whadborough, No. 23; Alberbury, Nos. 68, 71.
[4] *Ibid.*, Whadborough, No. 26. [5] *Ibid.*, Alberbury, Nos. 117, 47.
[6] *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, Richard Swinfield*, ed. W. W. Capes (Canterbury and York Society), pp. 216, 222.
[7] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Whadborough, No. 28.
[8] *Ibid.*, Whadborough, No. 29.
[9] *Ibid.*, Alberbury, No. 120; Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672.
[10] *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, John de Trillek*, ed. J. H. Parry (Canterbury and York Society), p. 288.
[11] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, No. 24.
[12] Rot. Pat. 31 Ed. III, pt. i, m. 24d; Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672.
[13] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, No. 122.
[14] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1361–64, p. 347.
[15] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, No. 123; *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1364–67, p. 202; *ibid.* 1381–85, p. 40; *ibid.* 1385–89, p. 438.
[16] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1391–96, p. 1.
[17] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, No. 126.
[18] For illustrations of thirteen seals in the Archives of All Souls, cf. *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxv, plate xxxi.

Matilda de Vavasour, who was dead in 1226; (2) Clare de Auberville.[1]

The first seal is attached to an undated charter[2] granted after 1226, before 1234, probably before 1232. It is damaged and badly rubbed, but it appears to be unique. The design is a pip-shaped shield of arms, quarterly per fess indented, the first quarter ermine. The legend appears to be + [SIG]ILL[VM] FVLCON' [FIL' W]AR'.

The counterseal is a smaller pip-shaped shield of arms, on which nothing can be distinguished.

Two broken impressions of the second seal are attached to Alberbury documents which prove that it belonged to the same Fulk FitzWarine as the first, because the names of his mother Hawisa and his two wives, Matilda and Clare, are mentioned in one or other of them. One document in which Clare is mentioned is dated 1252.[3] The second document is undated,[4] and is certainly earlier, for the soul of Matilda alone is mentioned, whereas Fulk is known to have been married to Clare at least as early as 1250. Another impression of the same seal is attached to an undated charter in the British Museum;[5] it has not been identified as the seal of Fulk FitzWarine of Alberbury and Whittington, but is described as the seal of Fulk FitzWarine of Alveston co. Gloucester, because it is attached to a document granting land to a man in Alveston.[6]

The design is an equestrian figure in armour to the right; he wears a close helmet and surcoat, and a shield with his coat of arms is suspended by guiges on his left arm. The legend combined from both impressions is SIGILLVM [FV]LC[ONI]S FIL[II WARI]NI.

The design of the counterseal is within a finely designed quatrefoil a shield of arms, quarterly per fess indented for FitzWarine, between sprigs of foliage. The legend combined from both impressions is + SIG[ILLVM FU]LC[ON]IS [FILII W]ARINI.

2. The Seals of Lilleshall

i. The seal of the convent represents the Virgin seated, the lily sceptre in her right hand, the Child seated in the middle of her lap. In the field on the right the word AVE. The legend originally was SIGILL' ECCLESIE BEATE MARIE DE LILLESHVLL.[7]

[1] Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vii 71–82.
[2] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, No. 107.
[3] *Ibid.*, Alberbury, No. 115.
[4] *Ibid.*, Alberbury, No. 1.
[5] Harleian Charter 50 C. 15.
[6] W. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, No. 6022.
[7] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, No. 118; *cf.* W. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, No. 3469.

ii. The seal of Abbot William (1226–35) which is used as the counterseal. The design is the abbot standing in mass vestments, a crozier in his right hand, and a book in his left; in the field on the left two stars, on the right a crescent. The legend is SIGILL' : WILL'I : ABBATIS : DE LILL[ESHVLL].[1] It appears to be the only known seal of an abbot of Lilleshall.

3. The Seals of Alberbury

i. This seal is attached to a grant made by Geoffrey, prior, and the convent of Alberbury of land at Whadborough, in which the following words occur: 'et ad majorem hujusmodi rei securitatem presentem cartam sigilli nostri impressione roboravimus.'[2] The position of the only surviving letters of the legend ABB creates a difficulty. The property was in Leicestershire, and some of the witnesses are Leicestershire names. It may be suggested that possibly the seal was borrowed from a neighbouring monastic house, but it has not been identified. The design is a fragment of a figure of the Virgin crowned, with the Child on her left knee, under a canopy; in the field on the right a crescent between two stars.

ii. This seal is attached to a lease granted by the prior and convent in 1317.[3] The design is a Grandmontine brother in prayer to the right below the Virgin and Child under a canopy. The legend is [SIGILL'] ARNALDI [PRIORIS] DE ALB[VR]BVR'.

4. The Seals of Grandmont

i. The seal of William de Dongres, prior of the order of Grandmont (1245–48). It is attached to an undated document, a release by Robert, prior of Laund, Leicestershire, to William, prior of Grandmont and the convent and the custos and brethren of Alberbury, of the title to the wood of Whadborough in return for land at Laund.[4] The document is endorsed as presented before the Itinerant Justices at Lichfield on February 2, 1248. No impression of this seal is known to exist in France. The design is the standing figure of the prior in elaborately ornamented mass vestments, the crozier in his right hand, the book in his left. The legend is [S F]RATRIS : WILL'I : PRIORIS : ORDINIS : GRANDIMONTIS. On the counterseal there is a brother of Grandmont in prayer to the right with an outstretched hand above him; the legend is GRACIA · DEI · S[V]M · QVOD · SVM.

[1] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, No. 118.
[2] *Ibid.*, Whadborough, No. 18.
[3] *Ibid.*, Whadborough, No. 38.
[4] *Ibid.*, Whadborough, No. 24.

ii. The seal of Adémar Crespi, abbot of the Order of Grandmont (1355–78). A much-damaged impression is attached to a document at All Souls dated 1359 containing the words 'sigillum nostrum quo pro nobis et conventu nostro communiter utemur.'[1] It is reproduced from a cast of the sole impression in France, now in the Archives in Paris.[2] It represents a mitred abbot standing under a canopy, holding his crozier in his left hand, and blessing with the right. The legend is ✱S' . ADEMARI · CREPI · DI · GRA' · ABBATIS : ORDINIS : GRANDIMONTIS. On the counterseal is a hand issuing from the left, holding a crozier, with a cusped opening with stars in the cusps. The legend is S' ADEMARI CREPI ABBAT' GRD'MON.

[1] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, No. 123.

[2] Bosredon, *Sigillographie de la Haute Vienne*, p. 221 ; L. Douet d'Arcq, *Collection de Sceaux*, No. 8741.

X

THE FINANCE OF MALTON PRIORY, 1244–1257

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the religious Orders held a strong position in England, with a fair prospect of extending their influence still further. Before the close, however, though outwardly the monasteries were more imposing, internally there were already signs of decay. As the friars journeyed through England to execute the numerous papal mandates, they had ample opportunities of observing the different houses of the religious, and their contemptuous remarks are therefore very suggestive. In their eyes the Cistercians were unlearned farmers, half laymen, and the Benedictines splendid epicures.[1] Matthew Paris was stirred to wrath at the presumption of the friars in daring to criticize. He saw that the very causes which had altered the character of the other religious were at work among the friars themselves. Though scarcely forty years had passed since their founding, they were already occupied in amassing wealth and erecting stately buildings.[2]

Chronicles, official records, episcopal and other visitations reveal a host of instances of the pecuniary difficulties of the monasteries.[3] During the Interdict many of them sustained great losses.[4] Under Henry III both crown and papacy made heavy calls upon them. Thus the most

[1] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, iv 280.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 279, 280.

[3] R. Graham, *An Essay on English Monasteries*, pp. 22–34 (Historical Association, 1913); R. H. Snape, *English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 119–152 (1926); C. Jenkins, 'A Thirteenth-Century Register: Odo Archbishop of Rouen,' *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1925, pp. 115–123.

[4] E.g. *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, iii 39; *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, i 296–298.

conspicuous feature in the history of the monasteries in this period is the effort to increase their income from all sources, spiritual and temporal; more lands were acquired, splendid buildings erected, and indulgences granted to attract the offerings of guests and pilgrims. It was a time of experiments in finance. Debts were piled up recklessly. The pious benefactor was often a lender who remitted the loan of which he had little hope of recovery.[1]

A full knowledge of monastic finance in the thirteenth century would throw a flood of light on the changes in the character of the religious, and of the attitude of the crown, the barons, and the nation towards them. Unfortunately the materials are incomplete, and it is easy to misinterpret them without an understanding of the practices of the mediaeval moneylender.[2] In the later centuries the account rolls of the obedientiars of the great Benedictine houses of Durham,[3] Winchester,[4] Ely[5] and Abingdon,[6] and also the bursars' accounts of the Cistercian house of Fountains,[7] supply much valuable information. For this reason the subject of monastic economy has been treated hitherto as if the Benedictine monastery were more or less typical of that of any other Order, and no serious attempt has been made to differentiate the systems in vogue among the other Orders of religious in the earlier centuries of their history.

A series of accounts, of an earlier date than any of the Benedictine rolls which have as yet been printed, is enrolled in the cartulary[8] of the Priory of Malton, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. It summarizes both the revenues and the expenditure of the house for a period of fourteen years from 1244 to 1257, and thus illustrates the finance and the economy of a Gilbertine house. A legatine visitation of

[1] E.g. *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, iii 255, 275; *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, i 327.

[2] Cf. *ante*, pp 102–105 and Snape, *op. cit.* pp. 120, 177.

[3] *Durham Account Rolls*, ed. J. T. Fowler (Surtees Society).

[4] *Compotus Rolls of the Obedientiaries of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester*, ed. G. W. Kitchin (Hampshire Record Society).

[5] *The Sacrist Rolls of Ely*, ed. F. R. Chapman, 1907.

[6] *Accounts of the Obedientiars of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. R. G. E. Kirk (Camden Society).

[7] *Memorials of Fountains*, ed. J. T. Fowler, iii 1–91 (Surtees Society).

[8] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fos. 273^{v}–277.

the Order which was conducted in 1268[1] at the instance of Cardinal Ottoboni throws light on some difficult points.

The Rule of Sempringham contains very full instructions for the economic management of the houses of the Order. The single copy which is now known to be extant was written in the first half of the thirteenth century, and bears as its title 'The Institutions of St. Gilbert and his Successors.'[2] The Cistercian Constitutions and the subsequent statutes of the general chapters are set forth with admirable clearness in the *Nomasticon*.[3] It is thus possible to trace the causes which led to a modification of the economic customs of the Order, or rather, perhaps, to a recognition of practices which it was impossible to check. In the Rule of Sempringham, too, there is internal evidence of additions to the original statutes, but the arrangement is in reality so confused that these cannot be disentangled with any certainty. However, it is clear that the economic principles of the Gilbertines were chiefly borrowed from the Cistercians.

According to the Rule of Sempringham, each house undertook the entire management of such property as lay within a day's journey of the priory; granges were built on the estates, probably at a distance of not less than two leagues from each other, like those of the Cistercians.[4] The general administration of the property was in the hands of a council of four proctors, consisting of the prior, cellarer, and two lay-brothers, one being the granger and another specially called the proctor.[5] Though the two latter could neither read nor write, their opinions carried as much weight as those of the lettered canons; in any instance of dispute the will of the majority prevailed unless the matter was of such importance that it was referred to the Master of the Order. Large purchases and sales were concluded subject to the consent of the two chapters of men and women, but

[1] MS. Douce 136, fos. 88–91[v] (Bodleian Library), *Victoria County Histories, Lincolnshire*, ii 183.

[2] MS. Douce, 136, Bodleian Library; printed in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vii, pp. xxix–xcvii. For a brief summary *cf.* R. Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, pp. 48–77.

[3] *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, ed. H. Séjalon.

[4] *Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne*, ed. Ph. Guignard, p. 251, cap. v.

[5] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. xxxvii, cap. i.

no such transaction was valid without the Master's consent and seal.[1]

At least once a month the four proctors discussed the expenditure of the house in the presence of the scrutator, a canon who held office for a year, and was bound to keep diligent watch over both spiritual and temporal matters.[2] They wrote two rolls setting out every detail of the expenses, one to be delivered to the keepers of the treasury, and the other for their own use in the yearly audit. The account rolls were presented to the Master and to the general scrutators of the Order when they came on their visitation rounds two or three times a year. On these occasions canons or clerks, who, before the institution of perpetual vicarages, held churches granted to the monastery, as well as the masters of the shepherds and of the tailors and the millers, were also present to render their accounts or to shew their tallies. The prior and cellarer saw that complete yearly balance-sheets were drawn up and put before the two chapters, shewing the profits and losses of each grange as well as the total expenditure of the monastery.

While the external management was in the hands of the canons and lay-brothers, the expenditure was controlled by the nuns. The treasury was in their buildings,[3] and it would be furnished with one or more chests with triple locks to contain the seal of the house, its rentals and extents, its money, account rolls, and tallies.[4] The keepers of the treasury were three mature and discreet nuns, who each had charge of one key, so that the chest could only be opened in the presence of all of them. None of the three prioresses was eligible to be a keeper of the treasury.

All ferms and rents were set down in writing.[5] A trusty canon was appointed as receiver, and according to the rental he accounted to the prior. In the presence of the four proctors he passed the money to the three keepers through the window-house of communication, which was so constructed that neither men nor women could see each other.[6]

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. xxxiii, cap. vi.
[2] *Ibid.* p. xxxix, cap. vii.
[3] *Ibid.* p. lxxiii, cap. ii.
[4] *Ibid.* p. lxxiii, cap. ii, iii.
[5] *Ibid.* p. lxxiii, cap. ii.
[6] *Cf.* W. H. St. John Hope, 'Watton Priory,' *East Riding Antiquarian Society's Transactions*, 1900, plate vii and p. 81; *Archaeological Journal*, lviii 11, 19.

Three lay brothers registered the amounts by tally, and the cellarer, or another canon appointed by the prior, wrote them down on a roll.[1] The same procedure was followed when the keepers paid out money from the treasury. All money was bound to pass into it, but, to avoid frequent approach to the window-house, the four proctors had 30*s.* in hand to meet small expenses. These rolls and tallies were produced and compared at the conferences on money matters which took place at the window-house.[2]

There was without doubt some strong-room, corresponding to the nuns' treasury, in the men's buildings. It would contain chests for the rental of the receiver, the tallies of the lay-brothers, the accounts and tallies of the proctors.[3]

The Rule ordered that similar methods of finance should be adopted in the single houses of the Order.[4] Three canons would therefore act as keepers of the treasury and have rolls and tallies to compare with those of the receiver, of the three lay-brothers who checked the paying in of money, and of the proctors.

The chief characteristic of Gilbertine finance, and indeed of the Rule generally, was that in so elaborate a system of checks and balances nothing was left to individual initiative or responsibility. Absolute power was not placed in any one person; even the Master was liable to deposition by the general chapter.[5] The Order of Sempringham may be fairly described as a highly organized moderate democracy.

The contrast between the Gilbertine and the Benedictine systems of finance and government is striking. Soon after the Norman Conquest the property of the Benedictine houses appears to have been divided between the abbot and his convent. It seems probable that the division was due to the influence of the Cluniac customs, but at the same time it served a very practical end, for the crown was thus only entitled to the abbot's revenues during a vacancy.[6] The abbot and chapter also allotted certain estates and

[1] *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. xlii, cap. xvi.
[2] *Ibid.* p. lxxvi, cap. ix.
[3] *Ibid.* p. xxxix, cap. vii, p. lxxiii, cap. ii, iii.
[4] *Ibid.* p. lxxiii, cap. ii and iii.
[5] *Ibid.* p. xxxi, cap. iv.
[6] E.g. *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i 215, 216; *Rentalia et Custumaria Michaelis de Ambresbury et Rogeri de Ford*, ed. E. Hobhouse, p. xxii (Somerset Record Society).

revenues to the several obedientiars.[1] Though calculated to ensure efficient management, these arrangements proved a fertile source of strife ; the abbot granted away his estates to his kinsfolk,[2] and disputed with his monks about the incidence of fresh burdens and the expenses of hospitality.[3] The convent had the utmost difficulty in exercizing any real check upon the abbot, for he rid himself of his critics and opponents by banishing them to distant cells.[4] As, in the thirteenth century, it became usual to make fine with the crown for a vacancy,[5] the division between the revenues of the abbot and convent was no longer so necessary. Nevertheless it continued. Among the injunctions issued by Robert Winchelsey in 1301 to the Benedictine house of St. Peter at Gloucester was one forbidding the abbot to hold separate property,[6] but there is no evidence that it was obeyed.

Though the departmental system worked admirably in many Benedictine houses, in others it was a source of danger. The obedientiars were in reality too much emancipated from the central control of the chapter, and at times contracted debts without the knowledge of the convent.[7] They were at the same time receivers, administrators, and treasurers of the funds from their endowment and would each keep their own money-chests. Such property as remained unallotted would form the common chest, out of which in some houses it was usual to supplement the revenues of the obedientiars.

The Cistercians and the Augustinian Canons had a common treasury, out of which all expenses were to be met. In a Cistercian house the cellarer was both receiver and paymaster, but all money passed through the hands of another monk who was appointed by the abbot as keeper of

[1] E.g. *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, pp. 321–333 ; *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. W. D. Macray, pp. 208–217.

[2] *Rentalia et Custumaria Michaelis de Ambresbury et Rogeri de Ford*, ed. E. Hobhouse, p. xix.

[3] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i 213, 214.

[4] E.g. *ibid.* i 253 ; *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, i 251, 252.

[5] E.g. *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. J. Bruce, p. 21 (Camden Society).

[6] *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Gloucestriae*, ed. W. H. Hart, vol. i p. lxxxvi.

[7] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, i 210, and ii 296.

the treasury.[1] Once a month or oftener, at the abbot's will, the cellarer presented accounts shewing his receipts and expenditure in money and stores to some of the monks chosen by the abbot to act as his council in dealing with finance. The grangers and other lay-brothers who held responsible posts also presented their tallies. As, unlike the Cistercians, the Augustinian Canons allowed some divergence in their customs, it is impossible to generalize about all their methods. One or two canons acted as receivers and treasurers,[2] and they paid out to the obedientiars such sums as were needful for their offices. The obedientiars presented accounts at stated intervals before a small council for finance. There was a general audit once or twice a year. The Gilbertines elaborated their system from Cistercian and Augustinian models.

In England the knowledge of the practical working of the monastic exchequer was perhaps obtained by the newer Orders from the Benedictines,[3] who actually used the term 'scaccarium.' There is evidence of the organization of the treasury or exchequer at Christ Church, Canterbury, in 1187[4] and at Glastonbury in 1189.[5] As for some years previously, during the vacancy, the entire revenues were administered by Richard Fitz Stephen, one of the chamberlains of Henry II, it may be surmised that the organization of the monastic exchequer was his work, and the analogies with the royal exchequer would be thus explained. It is possible that many other Benedictine houses may have adopted the methods of the officers of the crown during vacancies in their exchequers. It has been suggested that the royal exchequer was the model for the episcopal exchequer of Winchester, and thus of that of the prior and convent too.[6]

[1] *Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne*, ed. Ph. Guignard, p. 274, cap. lxxxvii.

[2] *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*, ed. E. Martène, iii 70; *Customs of Augustinian Canons*, ed. J. W. Clark, p. 188, cap. xl.

[3] E.g. *Registrum Malmesburiense*, ed. J. S. Brewer, p. 142; *Rentalia et Custumaria Michaelis de Ambresbury et Rogeri de Ford*, ed. E. Hobhouse, pp. 5, 15.

[4] Snape, *op. cit.* p. 39.

[5] *Liber Henrici de Soliaco*, ed. J. E. Jackson, Roxburghe Club, pp. 15–16.

[6] *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester*, 1208–09, ed. Hubert Hall, pp. xi, xii.

In the thirteenth century papal legates and bishops alike were unanimous in pressing changes in the financial management of Benedictine houses.[1] Provisions were repeatedly made that an annual balance sheet should be drawn up and rigid accounts kept and presented at stated intervals. Perhaps here again, as in the case of the general chapter, the Cistercian system was drawn upon for the reform of the Benedictines. As it was undeniable that balance sheets would give the legatine or episcopal visitor a clear view of the temporal affairs of the monastery, it was perhaps with the intention of eluding both tiresome instructions and extortions that the Benedictines were loth to produce them. It is impossible to discover whether the injunctions were obeyed. Although a number of obedientiars' rolls survive, no complete balance sheets have as yet come to light. On the other hand, no more admirable system could have been devised than the scheme for the organization of the exchequer at Gloucester in the fourteenth century.[2]

The democratic principles of the Rule of Sempringham were not always observed. It is evident that before the visitation of the Order in 1268 the balance of power had been disturbed, and that heads of houses betrayed arbitrary tendencies. The priors were warned against conducting business without consulting their fellow proctors or seeking the consent of their chapters.[3] The Master was forbidden to receive men and women into the Order without the advice of its members.[4] It was necessary to insist that the women should have their rights and privileges; no plea of urgent business might avail to deprive them of their assent to all transactions.[5]

Malton Priory was founded in 1150 by Eustace Fitzjohn as a single house of the Order of Sempringham for canons and lay-brothers.[6] In the first half of the thirteenth century it expanded very rapidly: in 1178 there were only three

[1] *E.g.* Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, iii 501; Wilkins, *Concilia*, i 590, cap. xxxi, ii 17; Snape, *op. cit.* p. 40.

[2] *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Gloucestriae*, ed. W. H. Hart, iii 105–107.

[3] MS. Douce, 136, fo. 89.

[4] *Ibid.* fo. 88v.

[5] *Ibid.* fos. 88v, 89v.

[6] *Monasticon*, vi, pt. ii 970.

granges,[1] in 1223 the number had increased to seven,[2] in 1234 to nine,[3] and in 1244 to eleven.[4] The prior, William of Ancaster, who was in office as early as 1236,[5] and died in 1256,[6] was a skilled business man. It was probably under his direction that this cartulary was written.

On some blank leaves at the end of the cartulary, certain canons or clerks in the service of the house enrolled a number of balance sheets, shewing the receipts and expenditure from 1244 to 1257.[7] It is clear that, as the Rule enjoined, they were drawn up from the rolls and tallies of the proctors, the receiver, and the keepers of the treasury to be put before the yearly chapter. They are set out in the modern form of a series of columns instead of in the usual mediaeval paragraph.[8] There are also separate statements of the total expenses of every grange and of the wages paid in each,[9] but there is no analysis of the profits. At first the balance sheets present somewhat of a problem, for the result of adding the items is that the totals fall considerably below those of the scribe. If only the expenditure fell short, or if the receipts were written down too low instead of too high, fraud might be suspected. However, as the balance in hand at the beginning of each year is usually correct, it would appear that although the scribe copied the final total, either he wrote an incomplete list of the items, or he made serious errors in some of the figures which he put against them. Owing to their skeleton form, the accounts are in many respects very disappointing. There is none of the wealth of picturesque detail in the rolls of the obedientiars of Abingdon, Winchester, Ely, and Durham. It would be interesting to know what building was going on at this time, and what were the many things bought at fairs.

The most striking fact apparent in a general survey of the accounts is that, with outstanding debts every year, the house was nevertheless spending up to the limit of its

[1] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fo. 7. [2] *Ibid.* fo. 10v.
[3] *Ibid.* fo. 11v. [4] *Ibid.* fo. 273v. [5] *Ibid.* fo. 177.
[6] *Ibid.* fo. 2v. [7] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fos. 276v–277.
[8] *Accounts of the Obedientiars of Abingdon*, ed. R. E. G. Kirk, p. 8 (Camden Society).
[9] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fos. 273v–274v.

income. There was no reserve fund in the treasury for any emergency. While between 1244 and 1257 the income varied from £500 to £700, in twelve of these years the balance was under £5. This apparently was characteristic of monastic finance. Any surplus, as at Malton, was invested in the purchase of lands and in building. Prudence might surely have dictated the need of ready money in the treasury, for almost every monastery of which the history is known experienced at some time the difficulty of finding money for the expenses of journeys to Rome, of lawsuits at the Curia and in England, and for subsidies to the crown and papacy.

The extent to which the canons of Malton were increasing their property is remarkable. In fourteen years they spent £499 19*s.* 9½*d.* in buying land, as much as £162 17*s.* 6½*d.* being devoted to that purpose in 1251. Some they kept in their own hands, the rest went to swell their rental, which increased from £47 17*s.* 0*d.* in 1244 to £60 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1257.

Some entries in the cartulary explain the nature of these purchases. In 1243 Leo, bishop of the Jews of York, quitclaimed the prior and convent for all the lands which they had received from Geoffrey of Grunst and William of Redburn in consideration of full payment of their debts.[1] In 1244 William of Richburgh granted to the prior and convent of Malton seven bovates of land in Wellum, for which they paid thirty-six and a half marks of his debt to Josce, nephew of Aaron of York, and three marks to his mother Albreda as quitclaim of her dowry in Wellum.[2] For sums of money down the canons thus got possession of the lands of certain impoverished lesser barons and knights. It seems probable that much other land was acquired by them in the same way, for during these years Henry III was very successful in squeezing money out of the Jews. Between 1243 and 1250 the Chief Rabbi, Aaron of York, paid 32,000 marks.[3] In 1244, for another supposed ritual murder in London, the Jews were tallaged in 60,000 marks, to be paid in five years.[4]

[1] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fo. 114. [2] *Ibid.* fo. 64ᵛ.

[3] *Select Pleas, Starrs, and other Records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, ed. J. M. Rigg, p. xxviii (Selden Society).

[4] *Ibid.*

To raise these sums the Jews would put pressure on their creditors, and accordingly a great deal of land was open for sale to the religious houses. Other monasteries besides Malton doubtless took advantage of these opportunities. In 1259, in the Provisions of Westminster, the religious were forbidden to enter on the possession of land in any fief without the consent of the tenant-in-chief.[1] The preamble to the Statute of Mortmain in 1279 notes that they had utterly disregarded this prohibition.[2] A comparison between the Norwich Taxation (1254)[3] and the Taxation of Nicholas IV (1291)[4] shews a rise in the assessment of the temporalities of the houses of the Gilbertine Order, at Malton from £130 5*s.* 4*d.* to £202 8*s.* 5*d.*, at Sixhills from £100 11*s.* 8*d.* to £175 0*s.* 0*d.*, at Alvingham from £53 17*s.* 4½*d.* to £81 14*s.* 2½*d.* It is unlikely that any of their lands escaped assessment in 1254; as some other houses of the Order shewed a much smaller rise, *e.g.* Sempringham from £196 9*s.* 1*d.* to £219 7*s.* 11½*d.*, Bullington from £96 3*s.* 6*d.* to £111 5*s.* 7½*d.*, it is clear that the major portion of the increase at Malton, Sixhills, and Alvingham was due to the assessment on land acquired since 1254.

The continual acquisition of land was a definite policy which the Order pursued with great apparent success. It would be interesting to know how far the Gilbertines were involved in the difficulties which beset the Cistercians as the result of buying land and of building. In the view of the general chapter at Cîteaux the destruction of many Cistercian houses was imminent on account of their heavy debts. Between 1240 and 1256 a statute was passed forbidding any abbot whose debts amounted to 100 marks to buy lands or to build, unless some special alms were received or some sale had been effected for that purpose; even then he was restrained unless the house grew plenty of corn.[5] It was probably more honoured in the breach than in the observance. In 1280 the debts of Meaux amounted to more than £3678 3*s.* 11*d.*;[6] in 1290 those of Fountains to

[1] *Statutes of the Realm*, i 10. [2] *Ibid.* i 51.
[3] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fo. 278ᵛ.
[4] *Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate Nicolai IV* (Record Commission). [5] *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, ed. H. Séjalon, p. 323.
[6] *Chronicon Monasterii de Melsa*, ed. E. A. Bond, ii 156.

£6373.[1] There are indications of poverty in the Gilbertine houses too. In 1247 the Master of the Order pleaded to Innocent IV that the nuns and sisters of Sempringham suffered in health because they often lacked the necessaries of life.[2] In 1257, for want of food, fifty-two nuns and ten lay-brothers were sent from Chicksands to other houses of the Order.[3]

Although the canons of Malton were acquiring land very rapidly, they had not enough for their own purposes. Their standard of 'intolerable poverty or need' had become somewhat elastic, for it was only under those circumstances that the Rule allowed them to pay yearly rents to seculars.[4] In thirteen years they spent £198 18*s.* 3*d.* in renting lands, pastures, and meadows. As rents were low, in some years they were using a good deal of land in addition to what they owned. In 1249 they paid £49 17*s.* 8*d.*; possibly their large expenditure on corn in the preceding year, £138 0*s.* 8*d.*, induced the canons to grow more of their own.

The sum spent on corn shews to how great an extent this house devoted itself to sheep-farming instead of tillage. Between 1244 and 1259 the cost of corn, barley, rye, and malt for the canons and lay-brothers, the servants and guests, was over £1100. It is impossible to calculate what proportion the grain bought bore to the grain consumed at the priory. There were in all forty-nine ploughs in use at the priory and its granges, three in the home grange, eleven at Wintringham, eight at Swinton, and seven at Multhorp. It is probable that sufficient corn was grown at the granges for the support of the lay-brothers, servants, and any guests who might seek hospitality there, for the variations in the expenses of each grange were independent of the variations in the annual cost of corn. On another leaf of the cartulary there is a record of the exact quantities of wheat, barley, rye, and malt which were bought between 1245 and 1254.[5] Although they did not vary very much, the prices at the local markets differed very widely. In 1254 the amount

[1] *Memorials of Fountains*, ed. J. R. Walbran, ii p. vi.
[2] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ed. W. H. Bliss, i 232.
[3] *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, iii 205.
[4] *Monasticon*, vol. vii, p. xcv, cap. iii.
[5] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fo. 282.

spent on corn was £138 13*s.* 4*d.*, while in 1244 it was only £47. These figures also shew clearly how very local good harvests were. Matthew Paris notes that in 1244, 1245, 1247, and 1248 the crops were exceedingly abundant, and the price of wheat fell to two shillings a quarter.[1]

Yet at Malton, though smaller quantities were purchased in the dearer years, the several costs were £52 8*s.* 7*d.* in 1245, £118 in 1247, £138 0*s.* 8*d.* in 1248. It may, too, be suggested that in the middle of the thirteenth century, in spite of the low profits on corn, it was more extensively grown for sale, and there was a greater trade in it [2] than has been supposed by Thorold Rogers [3] or Professor Vinogradoff.[4] The figures also throw some light on the Cistercian practice of dispersing their monks and of sending them to other houses for sustenance.[5] Their whole wealth, as Matthew Paris wrote, still consisted in their wool,[6] and if for any reason the sales failed and did not bring in sufficient money to buy corn when the local price was high, the monks were seriously embarrassed for lack of food. Another yearly item in the accounts was the amount spent on pittances, which would include fish, eggs, and cheese. It varied between £60 and £80. Thus the cost of the food and beer for the house and its granges during these fourteen years reached the high total of £2099 12*s.* 10½*d.* If the resources of the house allowed of it, the Rule permitted that pittances should be given daily.[7] In the visitation of 1268 there is no suggestion of extravagant housekeeping; on the contrary, the proctors were ordered to see that pittances were better and more often provided.[8]

The number of religious in each Gilbertine house was restricted under anathema,[9] and in the thirteenth century these numbers do not represent an ideal complement, but a real limit, because it was the tendency, especially in the

[1] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, iv 402, 503, 655, v 46.
[2] Cf. *Registrum Malmesburiense*, ed. J. S. Brewer, ii 364.
[3] Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, i 21.
[4] P. Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, p. 314.
[5] E.g. *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, iii 140; *Chronicon Monasterii de Melsa*, ed. E. A. Bond, i 107.
[6] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, v 553.
[7] *Monasticon*, vol. vii, p. liii.
[8] MS. Douce, 136, fo. 90.
[9] *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. xcvii, cap. vi.

nunneries, to multiply the inmates beyond the resources.[1] The statute allowed thirty-five lay-brothers at Malton [2] and about thirty canons. Provision was also made for the poor and for the servants and guests.

The total working expenses of the eleven granges averaged rather over £100; in 1245 they amounted to £108 os. 10*d*., in 1256 they only reached £52 9*s*. 4½*d*. On another leaf the scribe has written out the separate expenses of each grange, the number of ploughs in use in each, and one very important item, the wages of labour. These varied but slightly, from £31 7*s*. 10½*d*. in 1244 to £37 17*s*. 4*d*. in 1252. There is nothing to shew at what intervals they were paid, but the totals were made up twice a year, at Pentecost and at St. Martin's Day. The latter amount was nearly three times as great and would cover the extra labour at hay and wheat harvest, and probably the autumn ploughing too. According to the Rule the cellarer was bound to write on a roll the names and wages of the servants at the priory and the granges within a month of their hiring.[3] He paid them their wages in the church in the presence of the prior, except at the more distant granges, to which he might go alone. In the years when the expenses of the granges were lowest, and therefore it may be presumed that there was no murrain among stock and no serious loss or damage to property, more than half the total was due to the cost of labour. Professor Vinogradoff concluded that the phenomenon of hiring outsiders to perform some necessary kind of work in the thirteenth century was to be considered as exceptional, and in fact as a new departure.[4] However, from the above figures and other evidence it would appear that both Cistercians and Gilbertines were paying wages for farm labour earlier and to a much greater extent than the Benedictines and other landlords. The practice had its origin in the Rules of both Orders. In the Cistercian Statutes of 1152 very clear instructions were laid down. The houses should be remote from the dwellings of

[1] E.g. *Memorials of Fountains Abbey*, ed. J. R. Walbran, i 175, 176.
[2] *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. xcvii, cap. vi.
[3] *Ibid.* p. xl, cap. xi.
[4] P. Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, p. 321; but *cf.* Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, i 303, 309.

men.[1] Labour on the granges should be done by lay-brothers and hired servants.[2] Villeins were a forbidden possession.[3] The earlier Cistercian houses in England, such as Fountains,[4] were founded in desolate spots, and at first endowed largely with waste moors and rough pastures on which there would be no villeins. Later statutes do not recognize any right to hold villeins, but these certainly existed on the estates of the Abbey of Meaux [5] and elsewhere in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and would be naturally acquired with the lands which were subsequently bought or given. The Rule of Sempringham also contemplated the cultivation of the granges by lay-brothers and hired servants [6] on the lines of the Cistercians. It nowhere forbade the possession of villeins. The importance of a sufficient supply of hired labour was recognized in the agreement which was concluded between the Cistercian and Gilbertine Orders as early as 1164.[7] No one might draw away or receive hired labourers from a house of the other Order until they had fulfilled their time of service. In the middle of the thirteenth century the hired servants of some of the Cistercian houses were protected by papal bulls from excommunication in any controversy about payment of tithes.[8]

It seems that there were very few villeins on the estates of Malton.[9] There is a rental[10] of the property of the house, but no record of any labour services, and only two men are set down as 'homo noster.' Four villeins were manumitted by Prior William, who gave them lands for which they paid him a money rent.[11] Some other houses of the Order probably had more villeins, for at the Dissolution they were

[1] *Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne*, ed. Ph. Guignard, p. 251, cap. v.

[2] *Ibid.* cap. viii.

[3] *Ibid.* cap. ix.

[4] *Monasticon*, v 216, No. ix.

[5] *Chronicon Monasterii de Melsa*, ed. E. A. Bond, i 221, 229, 361, iii 5, 126, 127.

[6] *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. xl, cap. xi, p. lix, cap. i.

[7] MS. Stowe, 937, fo. 146, Brit. Mus. Cf. *Cartularium Abbathiae de Rievalle ordinis Cisterciensis*, ed. J. C. Atkinson, p. 182 (Surtees Society).

[8] E.g. *Coucher Book of Furness*, ed. J. C. Atkinson, pt. iii, p. 606 (Chetham Society); W. de Gray Birch, *Collections towards the History of the Cistercian Abbey of Stanley in Wiltshire*, p. 6.

[9] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fos. 235v–237v.

[10] *Ibid.* fos. 267v–271.

[11] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fos. 236v, 237v, 247.

still found on the estates of Chicksands and Shouldham.[1] Among the injunctions of the visitation of Ottoboni in 1268 was one prohibiting the manumission of servile lands and serfs by priors without the consent of the Master of the Order and of the convents.[2]

These labourers at the granges should be carefully distinguished from the household servants of the priory. This latter class was largely represented in the Benedictine monasteries, at any rate after the Norman Conquest,[3] and continually tended to increase: in some houses they held their offices by hereditary succession, and possessed considerable estates.[4]

A list of these household servants at Malton shews [5] how they had taken the place which, at the founding of the Order, was filled by the lay-brothers. Three were constantly employed in the kitchen, four in the bakery, two in the brewery. As the Rule suggests,[6] the supply of lay-brethren evidently fell far short of the demand, and, indeed, a life of hard labour under monastic discipline was unattractive. In the middle of the thirteenth century the man who in former times under the influence of religious enthusiasm would have become a lay-brother, then preferred to be a free servant. He entered into a contract for a time at a fixed rate of wages, and sometimes had clothes [7] as well as food, including meat,[8] from his employers. Sometimes a man made provision for his life by purchasing a corrody in exchange for the gift of his toft. At Malton, William of Hainton got the maintenance of a free servant for life by promising to obey the prior and cellarer, and to serve the house as well as he knew how.[9]

The question of the discipline to be maintained among the regular servants of the priory and granges of the Gilbertine houses exercised the minds of the visitors in

[1] *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, pp. 951, No. iv, p. 975, No. iii.
[2] MS. Douce, 136, fo. 89.
[3] *Liber Henrici de Soliaco*, ed. J. E. Jackson, pp. 10–17 (Roxburghe Club); *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, ii 238–243.
[4] *Cf.* P. Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, pp. 320–322.
[5] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, f. 271v.
[6] *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. lxvii, cap. xvii.
[7] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fo. 275v, 'pro panno garcionum.'
[8] *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. xli, cap. xiii.
[9] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fo. 264.

1268, and evidently the reports which reached them were not altogether satisfactory. They issued an injunction that the keys of the outer gates at night were to be in the charge of a lay-brother, and under no circumstances given to a secular, so that no servant might go abroad by night.[1] If any servant did get out after the gates were locked, a severe punishment awaited him, and a second offence brought expulsion from the service of the house. At the priory, as well as at the granges, servants and labourers were forbidden to go off the monastery lands without special leave; if they disgraced themselves when away with leave they were also liable to punishment and expulsion.

The most important feature of the receipts is the extent to which they exceed the revenues of the house as assessed for the Norwich Taxation in 1254. The total income was set down at £526 13*s.* 6*d.* in 1256, and £613 8*s.* 4*d.* in 1257. The value of the spiritualities and temporalities of Malton, according to the Norwich Taxation, was £281 3*s.* 4*d.*,[2] and the tenth therefore was only £28 2*s.* 4*d.* Some additional details,[3] furnished by the scribe, of the way in which the house was assessed, explain the difference between the income and the assessment for taxation. The temporalities were valued at £130 5*s.* 4*d.*; of this sum £55 6*s.* 8*d.* was accounted for as immovable property, and would represent the estimated rental of the lands of the priory and its granges which were farmed by the canons. Of the movables £60 13*s.* 4*d.* was received in rents from the tenants, while the remainder, £14 5*s.* 4*d.*, would be certain smaller sources of income, such as profits from mills and perquisites from the manorial courts. It is clear that at that time the main source of income of the canons of Malton, their wool, was untaxed, for in accordance with their charters they were exempt from all customs at the ports or elsewhere.[4]

In view of these figures the value of the wool trade in the thirteenth century to the Cistercians, Gilbertines, Premonstratensians, and to some Augustinian canons, is a very

[1] MS. Douce, 136, fos. 89, 89[v].
[2] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fo. 278[v].
[3] *Ibid.* fos. 279, 280.
[4] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fos. 28, 28[v].

important consideration.[1] There is no means of estimating the incomes of the houses thus engaged in the wool trade, and so the revenues assigned to them in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas give no clue at all. The Taxation was completed between 1288 and 1292, and the assessment was made on the same lines as the Norwich Taxation of 1254. The profits of the wool trade may explain the great amount of building which the Cistercians undertook in the thirteenth century; they were not sufficient to keep them out of debt, but without them it is difficult to realize how the building could have gone on. The methods by which the Benedictines raised money[2] were scarcely available for them; they possessed hardly any shrines or wonder-working relics, and they were forbidden by a statute of the general chapter to go about preaching to get money for building.[3] It was probably out of the profits of the wool trade that Edward II expected the Master of Sempringham to provide a loan of a thousand marks in 1313,[4] and again of £2000 in 1315,[5] at a time when the revenue of the Order was assessed at scarcely over £3000.

In fourteen years the canons of Malton made £5224 9*s*. 3*d*. from the sale of wool. In the best year, 1251, their gross profits were £460 16*s*. 8*d*.; in the worst, 1255, £243 19*s*. 8*d*. Like the Cistercians and their brethren of Lincolnshire[6] at the same time, the canons of Malton were engaged in a trade which was illicit according to their Rule, and seriously affected the pockets of the bailiffs, who thus lost toll and tronage. A rough approximation of the stock of Malton, from the figures of the Norwich Taxation, shews that it was utterly impossible for the canons to have obtained the whole of the wool from their own flocks. The conclusion is that they organized an immense trade in Yorkshire, and collected wool with great success. The methods of carrying on this lucrative trade impressed the papal legates, or their delegates who conducted visitations for them. Anything

[1] *Cf.* W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages* (4th ed. 1905), pp. 628–647.
[2] E.g. *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, i 219.
[3] *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, ed. H. Séjalon, p. 346.
[4] *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. ii, pt. ii, p. 66, No. 9.
[5] *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1313–1318, p. 220.
[6] *Rot. Hundred*, ii 317a; *Rot. Parl.* i 156–157.

savouring of trade, as unbecoming to the religious, was forbidden by Otto in 1238,[1] and again by Ottoboni in 1268.[2] In the visitation of the Gilbertines in 1268, the practice of collecting and selling the wool of others was mentioned and once more forbidden.[3]

In some of the houses of the Order it was customary, at least in the first half of the thirteenth century, to make the wool into cloth not only for the use of the community but also for sale to seculars.[4] Cloth of Sempringham [5] was noted in the reign of John. However, it was probably restricted to the double houses in which some of the labour might be done by the nuns and sisters.[6] The canons of Malton found it more profitable to sell their wool and buy at least some of the cloth for their own use and that of their servants.

As the gains of the wool trade were so large, it is easy to understand how futile it was to attempt to check it as a matter of ecclesiastical discipline, especially when that discipline was exercised through the papacy. It would have been necessary to effect radical changes in the expenditure of the house.

The value of the spiritualities of Malton, according to the Norwich Taxation, was £150 18*s.* 0*d.*, and out of this sum £56 16*s.* 8*d.* represented offerings. These were larger, owing to the more frequented situation of Malton, than those of the head house of Sempringham [7] which contained the shrine of St. Gilbert. As in appropriated churches, in which vicarages were created, offerings were usually assigned to the vicar, those of Malton were made in the priory church. The canons, like all other religious and secular clergy in the thirteenth century, were keenly aware of the financial value of indulgences, and sought after them. In 1229 John, bishop of Sodor and Man, dedicated an altar to St. Nicholas and St. Catherine, blessed a great cross, and relaxed fifteen

[1] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, iii 500.
[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. ii, p. 16, cap. xliii.
[3] MS. Douce, 136, fo. 89 ; cf. *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. lxvi, cap. xiv.
[4] *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. xliv, cap. iv.
[5] *Documents illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. Henry Cole, p. 267 (Record Commission).
[6] *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. xl, cap. xi.
[7] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fo. 278^{v}.

days of penance to those coming to do honour to them.[1] In 1253 Gilbert, bishop of Whitherne, dedicated an altar to St. John the Baptist, St. Gilbert, St. Catherine, and St. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury,[2] who had only been canonised in 1247, and was reputed to be working miracles at Pontigny[3] and at the Benedictine nunnery of Catesby.[4] The Gilbertines, too, got their full share of the conspicuous and lucrative increase in indulgences which were granted in Western Christendom by Nicholas IV. In 1292 he relaxed a year and forty days of penance to penitents visiting the church of St. Mary at Malton on the four feasts of the Virgin and the feasts of the dedication and of St. Gilbert.[5] It seems that the canons wanted the longer indulgence to attract offerings which no longer came in, for the spiritualities of Malton in 1292 had fallen considerably in value.

With regard to the great tithes of appropriated churches, in some years the canons received them in kind for the use of the house, in others they found it more profitable to sell them on the spot. It is impossible otherwise to account for the extraordinary fluctuations in the sums paid into the treasury as the proceeds of tithes in the appropriated churches. The value of the separate benefices as set down in the Norwich Taxation in 1254[6] is therefore a valuable supplement.

The privileges of an exempt Order were very real from the financial aspect. The Master of Sempringham had no benefices or other property set aside for the expenses of his visitations and other duties which might devolve on him.[7] His train might never exceed six horses,[8] while by the bull of 1253 an archdeacon was allowed seven, a bishop thirty, an archbishop fifty.[9] It is probable that at this time each house of the Order was contributing to the 'communa magistri' in proportion to its means, and that the sum was voted each year at the general chapter at

[1] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fo.42v.
[2] *Ibid.* fo. 42v.
[3] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, iv 103.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 104.
[5] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i 523.
[6] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fo. 278v.
[7] E.g. *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i 155.
[8] *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. xxxi, cap. iv.
[9] *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, iii 186.

Sempringham. Malton, as a single house, was the most wealthy. In fourteen years the canons paid £81 7*s.* 2*d.*, the sums varying from £4 to £13 10*s.* 0*d.* Successive papal bulls were effective in protecting the canons of Malton from any undue exactions of archdeacons on account of their appropriated churches.[1] The sum charged yearly for their lodging and for synodal dues from 1253 to 1257 was only £2 16*s.* 2*d.*

Lawsuits are an important feature of monastic history in the thirteenth century. In only four out of these fourteen years, no law expenses are entered in the accounts, and even these omissions may be due to the scribe. Though he wrote nothing against the item ' pro placitis ' in 1254 and 1255, in 1254 there is an entry on the Curia Regis Roll[2] of a claim made by Agnes, wife of William of Vescy, against the prior of Malton for a third of a messuage and ten acres of land in Malton and a third of a house, a mill, and ten marks rent in Wintringham, and a third of a messuage and ten acres of land in La Brend as her dower. The total of the recorded law expenses amounted to £170 11*s.* 4½*d.*, and in 1252 as much as £55 was incurred. In that year the prior was summoned to appear at Westminster to answer Amice, widow of Ralph of Bolebeck, who claimed the third part of a mill, a bovate and twenty acres of land, and fifteen acres of meadow in Levesham as her dower.[3] In 1249 £16 was paid for the pleas at the Assize of Pickering Forest.[4]

Another item in the expenditure, ' gifts to sheriffs and bailiffs,' illustrates a general grievance in the reign of Henry III.[5] Between 1244 and 1257 the canons were compelled to pay them £94 14*s.* 3*d.*, and in 1253 £19 13*s.* 6*d.* They were exempt, by the charters of Henry II and Richard I,[6] from attendance at the sheriff's courts, and from all aids and contributions towards the ferms of the

[1] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fos. 10, 11v.

[2] *Curia Regis*, No. 154, Trin. 38 H. III m. 9. Cf. *Notes on the Religious and Secular Houses of Yorkshire*, ed. W. P. Baildon, i 119 (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, vol. xvi).

[3] *Notes*, etc., i 119; *Curia Regis*, No. 148, Mich. 36–37 H. III, m. 37 d.

[4] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fos. 276, 282.

[5] *Cf.* Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, iii 361, vi 397; *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, i 424.

[6] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fos. 28, 28v.

shire. In John's charter[1] they were made exempt 'a donis,' and again in Henry III's confirmation.[2] Such gifts, however, as the canons of Barnwell recognized,[3] were clearly measures of expediency.

The Gilbertines were exempt from all taxation by the charter of Henry II, and by successive charters of Richard I, John, and Henry III, covering every financial device by which those kings filled their exchequer. Like some other exempt Orders, their liability to contribute to the papal treasury for the crusades or some other general need of the Church finally put them in the power of the crown. On the pretext of a crusade, Henry III obtained from Innocent IV a grant of the tenths of the revenues of the Church for three years, and a new assessment, known as the Norwich Taxation, was made in 1254.[4] The confusion in the minds of the religious as to the nature and object of the sums taken from them is shewn in the accounts of Malton, for the subsidy of the pope and the tallage of the Order are reckoned as one item. Malton was assessed to pay £28 2*s.* 4*d.*, and in 1257 the sum of £28 actually appears. The payments in 1254 and 1255 also apparently corresponded to the tenth. It would be interesting to know for what reason in 1256 only £10 was paid, for, judging from the receipts, it was a better year than 1255.

The very various methods employed by papal agents in England in Henry III's reign are answerable for the differences in the sums which appear in the accounts from 1244 to 1253. Procurations and voluntary offerings under pressure made up the sum when the pope issued no special demand. Wykes mentioned the Order of Sempringham as exempt from contributing to a sum of six thousand marks extorted from the religious in 1245,[5] nevertheless £15 appears in the accounts. In two years they got off very lightly, paying under £3. In others, however, they paid heavily: in 1252 the amount was £61 8*s.* 8*d.*, within a few pence of

[1] *Rotuli Chartarum*, ed. T. D. Hardy, p. 18.
[2] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fo. 30^{v}.
[3] *Munera ministris regiis, seu aliis que pro utilitate vel redimenda vexacione prelatus dare decreverit . . . de communi accipiat.* Cf. *Customs of Augustinian Canons*, ed. J. W. Clark, p. 48.
[4] Cf. *post* pp. 272–275.
[5] *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, iv 94.

a tenth of their gross income, and in the following year £140 13*s.* 4*d.*, which was more than a fifth of it. Again, in 1255, besides paying a tenth to the king, they had to provide a subsidy of £80 for the pope. In 1252 and 1253 the proctors of the Order were at Lyons seeking several bulls from Innocent IV, and it may be that he only granted them in consideration of these large sums.

An item appears beneath the expenditure each year as 'Debita' without any explanation. The scribe's totals of receipts and expenditure allow a small balance. Moreover, on another leaf of the cartulary there is an explicit statement of the financial position on the death of Prior William in 1256,[1] shewing the payments due to and from the house, and working out on the right side. However, the scribe wrote down that the house remained indebted in the sum of £27 5*s.* 0*d.* because the forty marks owed by John of Lexington could not be counted on. As Justice of the Forests north of the Trent[2] he would be too powerful to be pressed for payment, but perhaps the money was recovered from his executors after his death in 1257.[3] As at the end of 1256 the 'Debita' amounted to £251 13*s.* 4*d.*, some other source than the actual expenses of the house must be sought. Apparently the debts were incurred in the legal expenses of the Order at the papal Curia. The years of these accounts are commensurate with the pontificate of Innocent IV, whose capacity for squeezing the purses of the English monasteries was only equalled by his complaisance in granting bulls exempting them from the various financial exactions practised by his agents. The Calendar of the Papal Registers[4] and the two surviving cartularies[5] of the Order furnish a long list of bulls which were granted to the Gilbertines between 1245 and 1256. Indeed more were granted in these few years than at any preceding or subsequent period in the history of the Order. One loan of 1500 marks which the Gilbertine proctors at the Curia contracted in 1253 is on record.[6] According to the Rule the expenses

[1] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fo. 2[v].
[2] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, v 379.
[3] *Ibid.* v 610.
[4] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. i.
[5] *Cf.* MS. Laud, 642, Bodleian Library.
[6] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i 284.

of obtaining these bulls would be borne by the houses of the Order in proportion to their means.[1] The relative wealth of the different houses in 1254, as shewn in the Norwich Taxation,[2] makes it clear that it was impossible for some of them to contribute at all. Of the richer houses, Malton, as a community for men only, was in the most favourable financial position, and might therefore be expected to find a large part of the necessary funds.

In conclusion it may be said that these accounts only throw light on the material side of the life at Malton under Prior William of Ancaster. They contain nothing to shew that these Gilbertine canons had interests outside farming and trading. If they confined their studies to canon and civil law for the sake of practical advantages, such neglect of theology and philosophy was only a characteristic of their time.[3] Although the religious were forbidden to practise medicine by the Lateran Councils of 1139, 1179, and 1215,[4] the legatine visitation of 1268 allowed those Gilbertine lay-brothers who were skilled in surgery to make use of their art if the patients were men, and their prior gave them leave.[5]

[1] *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. xxxii, cap. iv.
[2] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fo. 278v.
[3] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, v 427, vi 293.
[4] Labbe, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio*, ed. Cossart, vol. xxi, p. 528, cap. ix; vol. xxii, p. 373, cap. ii; vol. xxii, p. 1010, cap. xxii.
[5] MS. Douce, 136, fo. 89v.

XI

THE TAXATION OF POPE NICHOLAS IV

THE Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV is recognized as a very important record, because until 1535 the grants of the clergy in parliament and convocation were based upon it, lands acquired after 1291 being taxed with those of the laity.[1] The assessment is distinguished from the Norwich Taxation as a *verus valor*,[2] and in recent years it has been frequently assumed that a *verus valor* represented the income of religious houses and ecclesiastical benefices in 1291, but the question whether that income was net or gross is left open. The object of this study is to discover the meaning of the *verus valor* by investigating the relation of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas to ecclesiastical revenues and to other assessments of the thirteenth century.

'Three assessments have been made in turn for the oppression of holy church; the first is called that of Walter,

[1] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, ed. 1887, ii 580.

[2] See the preface to *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV*, published by the Record Commission, 1802 (henceforth referred to as *P. Nich. Tax.*). The text of this edition is taken from an exchequer transcript of the fifteenth century, and is said to have been collated with a number of original rolls (these are calendared in Accounts of Clerical Subsidies [Misc. Exchequer K.R.], vol. 26, P.R.O.) and with a manuscript of the reign of Edward I, Cotton, Tiberius C x., which was damaged in the fire of 1731. However, in the Cotton MS. and in another manuscript of the fifteenth century at the British Museum (Add. 24060) the appropriations of churches in the archdeaconry of Middlesex are noted, whereas they do not appear in the printed text. In his edition of a text for the diocese of Exeter from a manuscript of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century in the Bishop of Exeter's Registry, Prebendary F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (*Registers of Bronescombe, Quivil, Bytton, and the Taxation of Pope Nicholas*, p. 450) states that the text of the Record Commission is 'full of inaccuracies.' In the introduction to the Register of John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle 1292–1324 (Canterbury and York Society) vol. i. p. vi, note 3, Dr. Tout, after a comparison of the Record Commission text for the 'nova taxatio' of 1318 in the diocese of Carlisle with those for the same in that diocese, vol. ii, pp. 183–189, is convinced of 'the unwisdom of taking the printed figures [of the Record Commission] as authoritative.'

bishop of Norwich, the second is of Master Raymond de Nogeriis, the third of Bishops John of Winchester and Oliver of Lincoln.'[1] To this statement in his *Liber Memorandorum* the canon of Barnwell added an epigrammatic comment: *Prima tollerabilis, secunda gravis, tercia gravissima. Prima pungit, secunda vulnerat, tercia usque ad ossa excoriat.* The origin of all of them was a papal grant of tenths for the Holy Land. On the pretext of a crusade, Henry III obtained from Innocent IV a grant of the tenths of the revenues of the Church for three years, and on October 13, 1252, at an assembly of the bishops in London, he produced the papal mandate authorizing him to levy the tenth not on the ancient assessment of churches, but on a new and stringent valuation according to the will and decision of his servants and tax-gatherers.[2] The opposition of Grosseteste and other bishops foiled the king for a time. In 1253 Henry III informed Innocent IV that he would set out for the Holy Land on the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist 1256,[3] and on September 11, 1253, Innocent IV sent a mandate to the bishops of Norwich and Chichester and the abbot of Westminster to act as collectors.[4] At a great council held at Westminster on April 26, 1254, the king's request for the papal tenth for three years was granted,[5] and on July 4 the collectors published their mandate.[6] Meanwhile, on May 24, Innocent IV extended the period of the grant to five years, allowing the king to use the money for the advancement of his son Edmund's claims to the throne of Sicily.[7]

The assessment which was made in the course of the year was known as the Norwich Taxation, because Walter Suffield, bishop of Norwich, was mainly responsible for it.[8] He sent letters in his own name to the rural deans of every diocese throughout the realm, and in every ruridecanal

[1] *Ecclesie de Bernewelle Liber Memorandorum*, ed. J. W. Clark, pp. 190, 191.

[2] Matth. Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard, v 324–328. For a detailed account of the negotiations which followed, *cf.* W. E. Lunt, *The Valuation of Norwich*, pp. 52–64 (1926).

[3] Rymer, *Foedera* (Record Commission), i 288.

[4] Matth. Paris, vi 296.

[5] *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard (Rolls Series) iii 196.

[6] Matth. Paris, vi 297.

[7] *Ibid.* v 452; Rymer, *Foedera*, i 303.

[8] *Cf.* Lunt, *op. cit.* pp. 52, 53.

chapter the dean and three or four rectors of authority took an oath to assess the benefices according to a *iusta estimatio*. They were bidden to ascertain the truth either of their own knowledge or that of the members of the chapter, and they had power to compel any persons in their deaneries to make statements on oath.[1] The bishop warned them to exercise great care in making a true assessment, without regard to any previous assessments. They had also to assess any property in the rural deanery belonging to religious houses and cells *outside* it, and all tithes held in severalty by religious houses. They distinguished clearly between *portions* in churches and *pensions*. The difference is this :[2] 'Where the tithes were still the property of the monks, but were leased from time to time at a varying figure according as prices rose or fell, they were said to have had a *portion* in the church ; but when the tithe had been granted away permanently to the rector of the church in return for a fiscal payment, in that case the monks had a *pension*. When a monastery obtained the appropriation of a church, it was customary that another monastery which had a portion in the church should surrender it and receive in exchange a pension.'

The bishop of Norwich also sent letters to the religious houses demanding a *iusta estimatio* of all their immovable property, *i.e.* their lands and tenements, with the exception of lands in other rural deaneries, or those which were held by barony or fell to the crown during a vacancy.[3] This return was made by sworn men of the chapters of cathedrals and monasteries. The bishop of Norwich was at St. Albans on July 11 making the assessment in person ;[4] he summoned the obedientiars of the monastery before him, including the almoners, to assess the property of their offices. The heads of the two leper hospitals and of the poor nunnery of Sopwell, and the rectors and vicars of the exempt jurisdiction of St. Albans, were compelled to assess their benefices. The bishop protested that he acted under compulsion, as

[1] *Annales Monastici*, i 325.
[2] *Newington Longeville Charters*, ed. H. E. Salter, xiv. (Oxfordshire Record Society.)
[3] *Annales Monastici*, i p. 326. *Cf.* Lunt, *op. cit.* pp. 65–67.
[4] Matth. Paris, v 451.

the monk of Burton also bore witness, and Matthew Paris, while assailing this tenth in unmeasured terms as 'an innovation unheard of through the centuries,' admitted that the bishop discharged his office with the utmost moderation and faithfulness. The first part of the assessment, which was made by the rural deans of the four archdeaconries of the diocese of Norwich, has fortunately been preserved in the *Liber Albus* of Bury St. Edmunds;[1] it was printed in 1908 by the Rev. W. Hudson, in a most useful form, side by side with the Taxation of Pope Nicholas. The spiritualities for the archdeaconries of Norfolk and Norwich were valued at £8127 9*s*. 8*d*., the temporalities at only £300 11*s*. 4½*d*.; in the archdeaconry of Sudbury the spiritualities at £2833 15*s*., the temporalities only at £170 6*s*. 8*d*.[2] It will be noted that there are no entries for the deaneries of Bury St. Edmunds and of Thetford, and that there is no reference to Norwich Priory in the return for the rural deanery of Norwich.[3] The second part of the assessment consisted of separate returns of temporalities made by the religious houses under special instructions from the bishops. Professor Lunt has discovered and printed several such separate returns,[4] notably those of Norwich, Glastonbury, and Waltham, but there is no complete second part of the assessment embracing all the religious houses for any one diocese.[5]

The assessment made by the rural deans of the diocese of Ely was included by the canon of Barnwell in his *Liber Memorandorum*.[6] The assessment made by the rural deans of the archdeaconries of Essex, Colchester, and Middlesex was translated and edited in 1926 by Mr. R. C. Fowler from a transcript made in the fourteenth century from the register long since lost of Fulk Bassett, bishop of London 1244–59, and some alterations had clearly been made in it to keep the facts up to date.[7] The complete assessment of the

[1] MS. Harl. 1005, fos. 1–34; *Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*, xvii 49–107.
[2] *Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*, xvii 103, 104.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 61–63, 89.
[4] Lunt, *op. cit.* pp. 489, 501, 520.
[5] *English Historical Review*, xlii 422.
[6] *Ecclesie de Bernewelle Liber Memorandorum*, pp. 191–199.
[7] 'Fulk Bassett's Register and the Norwich Taxation,' *Essex Archaeological Society Transactions*, vol. xviii, pt. i, pp. 1–12, pt. ii, pp. 13–28.

spiritualities and temporalities of Malmesbury Abbey is entered in the register of that monastery,[1] that of part of the temporalities of Bury St. Edmunds is entered in a manuscript of the chronicle of John of Everisden in the College of Arms.[2] Professor Lunt has printed in one volume assessments of the rural deans for the four Welsh dioceses, the dioceses of Ely, Lincoln, London, Norwich, the archdeaconry of Northumberland, and various fragments.[3] Other portions of the Norwich Taxation may yet come to light in monastic registers; *e.g.* in a register of the cathedral monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, there is an important copy of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, against which another scribe has written the corresponding values of the churches in the Norwich Taxation,[4] and it includes churches and vicarages below the value of six marks which are not recorded in that diocese in the printed text of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas. The same manuscript also supplies the figures of the Norwich Taxation for four peculiars under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury, the deanery of Shoreham within the diocese of Rochester, the deanery of Croydon within the diocese of Winchester, and the deaneries of Pageham and South Malling within the diocese of Chichester. A summary of the assessments of all the houses of the Order of Sempringham is in the cartulary of Malton Priory,[5] the scribe gave some additional details which throw some light on the meaning of *spiritualia* and *temporalia*; there were other ecclesiastical fruits such as separate tithes and offerings to be added to benefices to make the total of *spiritualia*; 'moveables' were added to the 'bona immobilia' to make the total of *temporalia*.[6]

The bishop of Norwich's avowed unwillingness may have filled Henry III with distrust, for he gave instructions for an independent inquiry. On October 9, 1254, he sent

[1] *Registrum Malmesburiense*, ed. J. S. Brewer and C. T. Martin, 1268–271. (Rolls Series.)

[2] MS. Arundel 30, fo. 155^{v}, College of Arms. I am indebted to Sir Alfred Scott Gatty, Garter, for kindly giving me access to this manuscript in 1908.

[3] Lunt, *op. cit.* pp. 190–524, with an excellent index, pp. 637–870.

[4] MS. Add. 6159, fos. 73^{v}–77^{v} (Brit. Mus.).

[5] MS. Cotton, Claudius D xi, fo. 278^{v}.

[6] *Ibid.*

a mandate from Bordeaux to Hugh de Mortimer, the official of the archbishop of Canterbury, to ascertain with the utmost caution and certainty the *valencia* of the tenths of all benefices throughout England.[1] Four days later, on October 13, 'an unheard of writ,' in the opinion of Matthew Paris, went forth from the chancery, ordering an inquisition to be held on every manor belonging to a religious house by the reeve of the place and four trustworthy men. They were to make a return of the number of ploughs on the demesne land, the number of customary tenants, the value of their works and rents, and the yearly value of the manors, deducting necessary expenses.[2] 'Nothing good could come of it,' was the comment of Matthew Paris.

In 1255 Rustand, a papal chaplain and nuncio, accompanied Peter Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford, to England to carry out the papal mandates. He sent out letters to the heads of religious houses notifying that, according to the interpretation of the apostolic see, baronies and manors were included under the *proventus ecclesiastici*, and tenths on the proceeds obtained from them in 1254 were to be paid up before the feast of the Purification 1256.[3] He ordered a new assessment to be made by archdeacons and rural deans of the temporalities and spiritualities, insisting that it should be not only *iusta* but *vera*, and that no portion, however small 'in weight, number, and measure, in lands, meadows, pastures, pannage, gold, silver, grain, liquor, works, free services or villeins' customs, in loaves due at Christmas, in chickens, eggs, or any other ecclesiastical dues whatsoever' should escape assessment.[4] According to the monk of Burton the beneficed clergy of every diocese in the kingdom presented a remonstrance, and he entered the articles drawn up by the clergy of the archdeaconry of Lincoln and of the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.[5] Rustand was obliged to consent that the tenth for 1255 should be paid on the Norwich Taxation. In 1256, however, Alexander IV ordered the archbishops and bishops to comply with Rustand's demand for an assessment of their own *bona* and those of

[1] *Rôles Gascons*, ed. F. Michel, i 460, No. 3727. I am indebted to Dr. Hubert Hall for this and the following reference.
[2] Matt. Paris, v 464.
[3] *Ann. Mon.* i 354.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 354–360.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 360–363.

the religious houses subject to them.[1] He sent another mandate to all archdeacons throughout England, requiring them to make a right and fair assessment of all ecclesiastical benefices, unfettered by the *antiqua taxatio*, that the king might get his tenth on the true valuation.[2] Rustand produced the papal letters at an assembly of archdeacons on Passion Sunday, 1256.[3]

The king and Rustand apparently had strong reasons to suspect that the Norwich Taxation was intimately connected with the *antiqua taxatio*, although the rural deans had instructions to disregard former assessments of benefices. In the assessment of the rural deanery of Norwich in 1254 it was noted that there were a number of benefices in the city which had never been assessed or entered on any list, on account of their poverty.[4] In the opinion of Thomas Wykes, the chronicler of Oseney Abbey, the Norwich assessment was an abominable innovation on the *antiqua taxatio*.[5] The date of the *antiqua taxatio* cannot be determined with absolute certainty. Wykes stated that in 1226 the clergy granted a sixteenth of their benefices on the *antiqua taxatio*,[6] and the compiler of the 'Annals of Oseney,' from whom Wykes appears to have borrowed the earlier portion of his work, wrote that the sixteenth was paid on the assessment on which churches were assessed when the twentieth was given to the pope in aid of the Holy Land.[7] That twentieth was given for three years in 1217, and the canon of Dunstable noted that his house paid on the valuation of trustworthy men, thus suggesting that the method of sworn inquest was employed at least for the temporalities of the church.[8] A portion of a still older assessment, described as the *Valde Antiqua Taxatio*, survives for the archdeaconry of Leicester.[9]

[1] *Foedera*, i 345. For further details about Rustand's negotiations and the results, *cf.* Lunt, *op. cit.* pp. 84–90.

[2] *Foedera*, i 345. Through some confusion Bishop Stubbs in his *Constitutional History*, ii 183, stated that the Norwich Taxation was made in consequence of this bull, and on his authority the date of the Norwich Taxation has sometimes been given as 1256 instead of 1254.

[3] *Ann. Mon.* i 388, 389.

[4] *Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*, xvii 62, 63.

[5] *Ann. Mon.* iv 225.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 67.

[7] *Ibid.* iv 67.

[8] *Ibid.* i 64, iii 52

[9] *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles I 274–279*, for the datings, cf. *English Historical Review*, xlii 424.

In 1266, in answer to the king's petition, Pope Clement IV granted him the tenths of the spiritualities and temporalities of the church for three years on a *verus valor*.[1] The first tenth in 1267 was on the Norwich Taxation, on the understanding, as Professor Lunt has noted, that the clergy would pay the difference when the new assessment was made.[2] It was not until 1267 that the king sent his clerks into every bishopric in England to make a new assessment of temporalities and spiritualities on the valuation of the common people (*plebs*), who were summoned for that purpose.[3] Immediately afterwards all the bishops compounded with the king for their bishoprics, offering a tenth for three years on the Norwich Taxation instead of a tenth for the remaining two years on the new valuation. They may well have objected to the dangerous precedent of this assessment on a *verus valor*, but Thomas Wykes was sure that they had made the bargain to clear a profit for themselves.[4] Although, on account of their exemption from episcopal visitation, the abbot and convent of Bury St. Edmunds usually had no dealings with the bishop of Norwich, on this occasion they entered into the composition, because they could deal more freely with his tax-gatherers than with those of the crown.[5] They also covenanted to pay for three years on the Norwich Taxation for some of their manors and churches, but on a number of manors which had never been assessed in the Norwich Taxation they paid for two years on the assessment of the king's clerks. They secretly paid the bishop's tax-gatherer 20 marks that their property within the bounds of the town of Bury might escape taxation, but the king's tax-gatherers got hold of the assessment, which was £100, and they had to pay on it. At a meeting of convocation of the province of Canterbury in 1269 a protest was made in the name of the clergy against the intolerable burden of this last tenth; it was stated that churches which had been assessed at 10 marks in the Norwich Taxation had been

[1] Bartholomew Cotton, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Luard (Rolls Series), p. 141.
[2] Lunt, *op. cit.* p. 103.
[3] Arundel MS. 30, fo. 155. Cf. *Florence of Worcester*, ed. Thorpe (Engl. Hist. Soc.), ii 202.
[4] *Ann. Mon.* iv 225. For further details *cf.* Lunt, *op. cit.* pp. 103–105.
[5] Arundel MS. 30, fo. 155.

put up to 26 marks by the king's clerks, and others in proportion, and that if through poverty rectors and vicars were unable to meet the tax-gatherers' demand on the first day, they afterwards exacted the tenth on the new assessment.[1]

At the Council of Lyons in 1274 Gregory X demanded the tenths of the church, according to a *verus valor*, for six years for the Holy Land, and on September 20, 1274, he appointed Master Raymond de Nogeriis, a papal chaplain, and Friar John of Darlington to act as collectors in England.[2] John of Darlington, who became archbishop of Dublin in 1279, was a distinguished Dominican friar; in 1256 he was a member of the king's council, and in 1258 he was chosen as one of the representatives of the crown to draw up the Provisions of Oxford with the barons' representatives.[3] The procedure of the collectors was resented by the Church, and John of Pontoise, archdeacon of Exeter, Henry de Hauecle, and Walter Lechlade, probably afterwards precentor of Exeter,[4] were chosen as envoys of the clergy of the realm to lay their complaints before the pope.[5] They told him that the collectors summoned three or four persons from each college or convent to London to take an oath as to the value of their possessions and compelled them to pay the tenth then and there; further, in direct contravention of the instructions to collectors, which had been drawn up by Bartholomew, bishop of Grosseto,[6] they exacted the tenths from lazar-houses, hospitals, very poor religious houses, from benefices whose annual value did not exceed 6 marks, and from the salaries paid by chapters, canons, and rectors to vicars, priests, clerks, and parochial chaplains. They made no allowance for the expenses incurred by the clergy in cultivating their lands and collecting their income, and their clerks assessed benefices at the maximum value. The cellarer, sacrist, camerarius or chamberlain, and two other monks of Bury St. Edmunds swore that the yearly value of the abbot's possessions was £1000, while the temporalities

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 19.
[2] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i 449.
[3] *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.* xiv 61f.
[4] *Exeter Episcopal Registers*, Bronescombe, etc., ed. Hingeston-Randolph, p. 441.
[5] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i 452.
[6] Barth. Cotton, *Hist. Angl.*, p. 191.

and spiritualities of the convent amounted to £1608 8*s.* 2*d.*[1] Evesham was assessed by its proctors at 1000 marks,[2] Circencester at £500, Tewkesbury at £394 10*s.* 6*d.*, Worcester at £241 5*s.*, St. Augustine's, Bristol, at £210 13*s.* 7*d.*, Lanthony by Gloucester at £101 19*s.*, Great Malvern at £75 2*s.* 4*d.* The proctors of Peterborough [3] and St. Albans [4] were unwilling to swear, and both houses were assessed at 2000 marks. The collectors rejected the oath of the Augustinian canons of Dunstable and compelled them to pay on 400 marks.[5] Barnwell was assessed at 500 marks.[6]

John of Darlington had great difficulty in collecting this tenth, and indeed it is doubtful whether it was ever paid up in full. He coerced the convent of St. Albans into making regular payments by excommunicating the abbot and chief monks,[7] and took similar measures against the prior and convent of Christ Church, Canterbury.[8] As late as 1282 a number of monasteries in the diocese of Worcester were in arrears with the greater part of their payments.[9] In 1278 Edward I had sent John of Darlington, with other envoys, to Rome to ask for a grant of these tenths for a crusade,[10] and Nicholas III consented to make it at some future time if the king would publicly take the cross and honestly purpose to set out. In 1283 Edward I seized the tenths which had been collected, but was compelled to give them up.[11]

Foiled in this attempt, in 1284 he negotiated with Pope Martin IV for a fresh grant of tenths of the spiritualities and temporalities of the Church in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, according to a *verus valor*. Martin IV and his successor, Honorius IV, were willing to make the grant for a term of years, on condition that the king should publicly

[1] Arundel MS. 30, fo. 163. Cf. *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series), iii 32.

[2] *Worcester Episcopal Register*, Giffard, ed. J. W. Bund (Worc. Hist. Soc.), p. 143.

[3] *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. T. Stapleton (Camden Soc.), p. 21.

[4] Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series), i 468.

[5] *Ann. Mon.* iii 267.

[6] *Liber Memorandorum*, p. 199.

[7] Walsingham, i 468.

[8] *Registrum Epistolarum Iohannis Peckham*, ed. C. T. Martin (Rolls Series), i 10, 28.

[9] *Worcester Episc. Reg.*, Giffard, p. 143.

[10] *Foedera*, i 560.

[11] *Ibid.* p. 631 ; *Reg. Epist. Peckham*, ii 635.

take the cross and fix the date of his departure for the Holy Land.[1] On October 7, 1289, after receiving a promise from the king that he would set out in three years, Nicholas IV consented to order the tenths for six years to be collected by ecclesiastical persons according to the assessment, method, and form ordained by the Holy See.[2] As there were reported to be valuations of a diverse character in the two kingdoms of England and Scotland and in Ireland and Wales, on January 12, 1290, the pope agreed that the tenths should be taken *iuxta verum valorem*,[3] a concession of the utmost importance to Edward I, for in 1291, in spite of the assessment of 1274, the clergy would only consent to pay a tenth on the Norwich Taxation.[4] On May 13, 1290, Nicholas IV notified that the collectors would observe the conditions imposed on John of Darlington and his colleagues in 1274.[5] Ten months later, on March 18, 1291, he appointed Oliver Sutton, bishop of Lincoln, and John of Pontoise, bishop of Winchester, to collect the tenths for six years from June 24, on the understanding that the king would set out on that date in 1293.[6] In another bull, dated a fortnight later, he supplemented his previous instructions to the bishops: they were ordered to make the assessment themselves or to select discreet persons to act for them, and also to appoint collectors in the different dioceses with the advice of the ordinaries and other discreet men.[7] The assessment was to be a *verus valor*, but with the reservation that the taxation should be borne by churches and their rulers without grave inconvenience.

In obedience to the papal mandate in 1291 the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester sent instructions to the bishops of England and Wales to choose representative clergy to assess the *verus valor* of all benefices in their dioceses.[8] In the five archdeaconries of Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingdon, and Northampton, except the deanery of Rutland, the assessors were Master Ralph de Bokingham, rector of Morton,

[1] *Foedera*, i 642, 675.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 714. In the preface to *P. Nich. Tax.* the date is given as 1288, apparently from an entry on the Patent Roll dated 3 February 1288, *i.e.* 1289 new style. Cf. *Foedera*, i 705.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 725.
[4] Barth. Cotton, p. 183.
[5] *Foedera*, i 732.
[6] Barth. Cotton, pp. 183–187, 191–198.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 189.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 198.

and Richard de Appeltre, rector of Gilling ;[1] in the archdeaconries of Suffolk and Sudbury, Richard, rector of Snailwell, and Richard, rector of Sutton ;[2] in the diocese of Ely Master Guy of Coventry, the bishop's official, and Ralph of Fotheringay, archdeacon of Ely ;[3] in the archdeaconry of Hereford Master John de Chandos and Simon de Buterleye ;[4] in the archdeaconry of Coventry Thomas de Staundon and Roger called Batun ;[5] in the city and diocese of Durham the vicars of Hartburn and Aycliffe ; in the diocese of Carlisle Richard of Whitby, archdeacon of Carlisle, and Adam of Levington, rector of Skelton. The assessors made their return on the oath of rectors, vicars, and parochial chaplains ;[6] and it seems probable that a special chapter was summoned in each rural deanery for that purpose, and that representatives of the chapter were summoned to meet the assessors. The churches belonging to the priory of St. Neot, in the deanery of St. Neot, archdeaconry of Huntingdon, were assessed by the rectors of Morton and Gilling, in the parish church of St. Mary at Huntingdon.[7] In the diocese of Bangor it is stated in each rural deanery that the return was made by the dean and other sworn trustworthy men of the deanery,[8] and in the diocese of Durham by three juries to the assessors at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in December 1291.[9] Bartholomew Cotton has chronicled the important fact that the assessment of benefices was made *sine commixtione alicuius laici*. It should be noted that, except in the diocese of Carlisle, the *verus valor* was almost invariably returned as a number of marks or simple fractions of a mark.

The assessment of spiritualities was subject to revision by the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester. The Augustinian canon of Dunstaple recorded in 1293 that, 'hearing that some benefices were assessed far below their true value and others far above it,' the bishop of Lincoln came in person to make a new assessment,[10] and the heading of the roll for

[1] *P. Nich. Tax.*, p. 30.
[2] Arundel MS. 30, fo. 180v.
[3] *Liber Memorandorum*, p. 200.
[4] Clerical Subsidies 68/31, P.R.O.
[5] *P. Nich. Tax.*, pp. 241, 314, 318.
[6] Barth. Cotton, p. 198.
[7] Cotton MS., Faustina, A iv, fo. 22v.
[8] *P. Nich. Tax.*, pp. 290, 291.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 314.
[10] *Ann. Mon.* iii 382.

the four archdeaconries of Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford, and Northampton, in the diocese of Lincoln, testifies that it contains the reassessment of some churches made by the bishops.[1] The assessment headed Snailwell, written in the margin of the Norwich Taxation for the archdeaconries of Suffolk and Sudbury in the *Liber Albus* of Bury,[2] was the original return made by Richard, rector of Snailwell, and Richard, rector of Sutton, in 1291,[3] and the assessment of a comparatively small number of benefices was afterwards increased by two or three marks, rarely more, and for a few it was lowered.

Were these returns of spiritualities a *verus valor* according to the terms of the papal bull? Did the clergy make a new assessment of their glebe lands and stock, of their tithes and offerings? The Norwich Taxation and the *Nonarum Inquisitiones*[4] throw some light on this question. In 1341 the king's commissioners were instructed to levy the ninth of corn, wool, and lambs from the laity in every parish, assuming that the ninth would be equal to a tenth on the valuation of the benefice in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas; to levy more of the ninth exceeded that valuation, and less of it fell below it. Parishioners from each parish declared on oath before the assessors the true value of the ninth of corn, wool, and lambs for the past year (*hoc* or *eodem anno*), and the value of the church according to the Taxation of Pope Nicholas; when the ninth did not equal or exceed that amount, they gave as a reason that the glebe of the church, the tithe of hay, and other tithes and offerings accounted for the difference. The returns to the *Nonarum Inquisitiones* have survived for a number of parishes in twenty-seven English counties, and the precise form in which they were

[1] *P. Nich. Tax.*, p. 30. [2] Harl. MS. 1005.

[3] The Snailwell assessment has been recently attributed to the fourteenth century, and the statement has been made that 'it corresponds fairly closely in the value assigned to the general benefices' with the Norwich Taxation (*Vict. County Hist. Suffolk*, ii 14). However, John of Everisden is quite clear: 'Dominus papa domino regi Anglie decima [*sic*] omnium proventuum ecclesiasticorum omnium eciam bonorum virorum religiosorum quorumcunque Hospitalariis et Templariis exceptis per sex annos in subsidium contulit terre Ierosolimitane. Facta est igitur nova taxacio bonorum spiritualium nostrorum et aliorum per dominum Ricardum rectorem ecclesie de Snailwell et dominum Ricardum rectorem ecclesie de Suttone' (Arundel MS. 30, fo. 180^{v}; *cf.* Harl. MS. 3977, fo. 56).

[4] Published by the Record Commission, 1807.

made varied with the county commissioners. In Wiltshire the parishioners swore that the ninth *valebat hoc anno*, and that the other items set out separately *valent per annum*. There are similar returns for several counties. The inference is, that the parishioners had before them the original valuation of the church in 1291 and gave the items from it ;[1] they were not required to make a new valuation of the revenues of their church. There are exceptions in some parishes in Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire in which the parishioners were anxious to pay a smaller tax, owing to misfortunes. The conclusion is that a number of the *Nonarum Inquisitiones* contain the original returns of the value of benefices for the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, with the notable exception of the tithes of corn, wool, and lambs. A comparison of the Norwich Taxation, the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, and the *Nonarum Inquisitiones* for a number of churches in the archdeaconry of Sudbury has given some interesting results. Creeting All Saints was assessed at 9 marks in 1254, at 15 marks in 1291, and the tithes of hay, flax, and hemp, and other small tithes and offerings amounted to $6\frac{1}{4}$ marks. Creeting St. Peter was assessed at £5 in 1254, at £10 in 1291, and the tithes of hay, flax, and hemp, and other small tithes and offerings amounted to £4 18*s*. 7*d*. Rougham was assessed at 26 marks in 1254, at 60 marks in 1291, and the tithes of hay, flax, and hemp, and other small tithes and offerings amounted to 32 marks less 8*d*. Ixning was assessed at £42 13*s*. 4*d*. in 1254, at £63 6*s*. 8*d*. in 1291, and the tithes of hay, flax, and hemp, and other small tithes and offerings amounted to £20 11*s*. 5*d*. The rectories of Stow St. Peter, Stow St. Mary, Haughley, and Newton were assessed at the same amount in 1254 and 1291, while the corresponding vicarages rose from 2 to 8 marks, from 30*s*. 6*d*. to 5 marks, from 30*s*. to $6\frac{1}{2}$ marks, from 40*s*. to 5 marks. This evidence suggests that for some churches the small tithes and offerings were not assessed at all for the Norwich Taxation, a theory which is supported by the opposition of the clergy in 1255 to the new assessment in which Rustand proposed to allow no

[1] The Rev. W. A. Hudson arrived at a similar conclusion on this point, *Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*, xvii 45, 108. Professor Lunt holds a different opinion, *op. cit.* pp. 143–147 ; *cf.* also *English Historical Review*, xlii 424.

exemption upon any portion, however small 'in weight, number and measure, in lands, meadows, pastures, pannage, gold, silver, grain, liquor, works, free services or villeins or any other ecclesiastical dues whatsoever.'[1] For a number of other benefices in which the tithes of hay and other small tithes and offerings constituted an important part of the revenues, the evidence again suggests that these items were usually, though not invariably, assessed in 1254, and in consequence there was no change in 1291, as at Finborough Magna, Buxhall, Bradfield St. Clare, Little Livermere, and Tostock. This evidence also suggests that in some parishes in the diocese of Norwich the Norwich Taxation was used as the basis of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas.

In the opinion of the canon of Barnwell, the archdeacon of Ely and the bishop's official made a trustworthy and careful assessment of the spiritualities of the diocese.[2] A comparison with the Norwich Taxation[3] shews that the assessment of only a small number of benefices remained the same, while on the higher assessments there was a very considerable increase, Haddenham rising from 60 to 120 marks, Leverington with the vicarage from 80 to 127½ marks without it, Cottenham from 33 to 60 marks, Over from 25 to 53 marks. There were a few reductions. The returns of the *Nonarum Inquisitiones* for Cambridgeshire are very brief, and, as the assessment of the various tithes and offerings is not specified, no deductions can be drawn from them. The rise in some assessments is still more striking in some other dioceses, such as Canterbury.[4]

Evidence illustrating the difference between the actual revenues of benefices and their assessment in 1291 can be gleaned from many scattered sources. The register of John de Pontissara, bishop of Winchester (1282–1304), contains an undated list of sixty-six churches in the diocese, and twenty-three churches in other dioceses of which the bishop was patron *cum valore earundem secundum veram estimacionem*;[5] a similar list, written between 1333 and 1345, with a few variations, bringing the valuation up to date, occurs in a small manuscript at Winchester College,

[1] *Ann. Mon.* i 361–363. [2] *Liber Memorandorum*, p. 200.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 191–199; *cf.* also Lunt, *op. cit.* pp. 535–539. [4] *Post*, p. 308.
[5] *Episcopal Registers of Winchester, Pontissara* ii 794–797 (Canterbury and York Society).

which has been described as the *vade mecum* of William of Wykeham who ruled the diocese from 1367 to 1404.[1] The much lower figures of the assessment of the churches in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas were also given in this manuscript, and this list has been printed as an appendix to William of Wykeham's episcopal register. Four in the diocese of Lincoln are chosen as an example, because their assessment in the Norwich Taxation is also known.[2]

	1254 Marks	Annual Value Marks	1291 Marks
Adderbury, Oxon.	30	150	70
Witney, Oxon.	30	100	60
Ivinghoe, Bucks.	30	80	55
West Wycombe, Bucks.	30	80	40

The following table shews that the total receipts in 1293 from a number of churches appropriated to the monastery of Durham were much higher than the assessment; they were drawn from the sale of tithes, and the bursar's account roll for that year shews very small outgoings for the churches in 1293: £2 0*s.* 0*d.* to the vicar of Estrington, £3 6*s.* 8*d.* for collecting tithes and another item, and £15 17*s.* 11*d.* for the expenses of the proctors at Norham, Holy Isle, Ellingham.[3]

De Proventibus Parochie de[4]	Taxation of Norwich	Recepta de Ecclesiis 1293	Taxation of Pope Nicholas	
		£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	
Norham	93 6 8	260 0 0	133 6 8	
Ellingham	20 0 0	58 3 4	30 0 0	
Jarrow	32 0 0	60 0 0	40 0 0	
Heighington	43 6 8	128 0 0	46 13 4	
Aycliffe	33 6 8	111 6 8	43 6 8	cum vicaria
Pittington	24 13 4	80 0 0	26 13 4	
Hesledon	18 0 0	60 0 0	20 0 0	
Merrington	15 6 8	63 0 0	20 0 0	
Billingham	15 6 8	120 0 0	20 0 0	
Northallerton	73 17 8	88 0 0	73 6 8	
Estrington	— — —	125 0 0	60 0 0	

[1] *Episcopal Registers of Winchester, Wykeham* i pp. xi, 361–363.

[2] Lunt, *op. cit.* pp. 280, 283, 309, 310.

[3] *Durham Account Rolls*, ed. J. T. Fowler, ii 489–493. It is the Roll for 1293, *nonagesimo tercio*, not 1292. In the summary printed in *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, p. ccxlviii, in which a few totals differ, it is clear that reference was made to other particule, *Account Rolls*, p. 492, and an allowance was also made for other tithes of which the value is not given in the Bursar's Roll, p. 490, *e.g.* 'et de 42*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.* de dec. garb. paroch. de Jarw. preter dec. de H'ton, que erant in casso.'

[4] *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Soc.), Appendix, p. ccxlviii. The figures of the Norwich Taxation are taken from Lunt, *op. cit.* p. 566.

In 1301, when a complaint was made against Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, because he had extorted £20 for firstfruits from the rector of Great Compton, whereas the rectory was only assessed at £12, the bishop replied that the church of Great Compton was worth 50 marks, whereof his ministers received £20 for the firstfruits sold to the rector, according to the tenor of the apostolic privilege.[1] In a record of the benefits conferred on Malmesbury by Abbot William de Colerne (1260–96) the church of Purton is set down as worth 50 marks a year to the house, although in the Norwich Taxation the abbot and convent's portion of the revenues was assessed at £19 6*s.* 8*d.*, and at £16 in 1291; and the church of Kemble as worth 40 marks, whereas the abbot and convent's portion was assessed at £13 in 1254 and at £11 in 1291.[2] From the lower assessment of these two churches and those of St. Mary and St. Paul at Malmesbury the second editor of the 'Register of Malmesbury' appears to have drawn his deduction that where the two valuations do not tally the earlier is generally the higher,[3] a statement which requires some qualification, for the assessment of the temporalities was higher in 1291,[4] and in the case of the four churches it is probable that perpetual vicarages had been created between 1254 and 1291, thus diminishing the abbot and convent's portion of the revenues. In 1275 the monks of Bury St. Edmunds swore that the yearly value of the revenues from the appropriated church of Pakenham was 60 marks,[5] and yet in 1291 the rectory was only assessed at 32 marks.[6] In 1309 the abbot and convent of Winchcombe appropriated the church of Enstone, in Oxfordshire, and, though assessed only at 40 marks, in 1329 the convent reckoned in ordinary years on drawing 80 marks from it, and apparently it had yielded about that income to the late rector, for when he resigned in favour of the monastery in 1309 he stipulated for a pension of 80 marks until his death.[7] Between Michaelmas 1336 and 1337 the prior and convent

[1] *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Giffard, p. 550.
[2] *Reg. Malmesburiense*, i 269–273, ii 358.
[3] *Ibid.* ii p. xxxv.
[4] *Ibid.* i 268–274.
[5] Arundel MS. 30, fo. 213.
[6] *P. Nich. Tax.*, p. 119b.
[7] *Landboc Monasterii de Winchelcumba*, ed. D. Royce, i 259; ii pp. 63, 44.

of Ely received £177 12*s.* 8½*d.* from the churches of Melbourn, Stapleford, Whittlesea, Lakenheath, Witcham, and Hauxton,[1] which were assessed only at £110 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1241 the abbot and convent of Jumièges reckoned to pay 83 marks a year out of the revenues of the church of Chewton, in Somerset, maintain a vicar and several chaplains, and make a profit; yet in 1291 it was only assessed with the vicarage at £58 19*s.* 11½*d.*, while again in 1416 the prior and convent of Shene Charterhouse farmed the rectory to the dean and chapter of Wells for £45, exclusive of a pension of £25 6*s.* 8*d.* charged upon it.[2] In 1320 the vicar of the prebendal church of St. Decuman's complained that his portion of £6 4*s.* 6½*d.* would not suffice for the support of himself and two chaplains, and the revenues then amounted to £53 15*s.* 4*d.*,[3] yet in 1291 the prebend was only assessed at £28. In 1332 the dean and chapter of Wells fixed the farms of several churches appropriated to them at a price considerably higher than their value in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas.[4]

	Farm in 1332			Tax. P. Nich.		
	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
Congresbury . . .	45	0	0	26	13	4
Cheddar . . .	36	13	4	26	13	4
Moiety of Whitchurch .	33	6	8	14	13	4
Stogumber . . .	50	0	0	11	13	4
Lydeard . . .	35	0	0	23	6	8
Mudford and Lovington .	36	13	4	26	13	4

An instruction given by the bishop of Norwich to the rural deans in 1254 supplies a clue to the difference between the net revenues of a benefice and its assessment: 'if it seems fair to you we will that every one whose church is farmed shall answer for the tenth according to the amount of the farm which he receives.'[5] In 1340 the parishioners of Chesterton, in Cambridgeshire, swore that before the reign of Edward I the church was assessed at £46 and was farmed at that amount.[6] The same principle was conceded in 1274 and 1291, with the reservation that a vicar should not be regarded as farmer of the rector's portion and thus escape

[1] Rolls of Treasurers and Camerarius, penes D. and C. Ely. I am much indebted to Archdeacon Chapman for kindly giving me access to these rolls.

[2] Hist. Manuscripts Comm., *Cal. of Manuscripts of D. and C. of Wells*, i 398, 461.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 388.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 230.

[5] *Ann. Mon.* i 326.

[6] Lay Subsidies 81/17, P.R.O.

payment on his own portion.[1] Some of the *Nonarum Inquisitiones* contain an extent of the glebe or endowment of the church, shewing that it was assessed only at the rental per acre. As the assessments of 1254 and 1291 were made entirely by the clergy for unpopular taxation, it may be assumed that they returned the *verus valor* of spiritualities in 1291 at the lowest amount at which benefices could be farmed, and were justified by the papal instruction that the taxation might be borne without grave inconvenience. Although it was unusual in the thirteenth century to farm vicarages they were assessed on the same principle, and thus the difference between the value of a vicarage at its ordination and in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas can be to some extent explained. In 1271 Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, ordained that the vicar of Sherborne, in Gloucestershire, should receive not less than £10 a year, without reckoning his manse, yet in 1291 the vicarage was returned as worth £5.[2] Thomas Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford (1275–1283), granted tithes and offerings to the vicar of Churcham which were valued at £11 6*s.* 10*d.*, yet in 1291 his portion was assessed at £5 6*s.* 8*d.*[3] The vicarage of Dymock was fixed by Peter Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford, in 1247 at 14 marks, yet in 1291 it was returned as not worth 6 marks.[4] The returns in episcopal registers to inquiries held for the purpose of ordaining vicarages represent the gross income of benefices, and the episcopal rolls of the diocese of Lincoln for the thirteenth century throw a flood of light on this question. The rolls of Bishop Oliver Sutton (1280–1299), which have been transcribed for publication,[5] contain the fullest details of a number of such inquiries; every item of the gross income of a church is set out with its separate value *in communibus annis*, and every obligation to be met is noted in the subsequent ordination of a vicarage, *i.e.* the repair and rebuilding when necessary of the chancel, the payment of procurations and synodal dues, the provision

[1] Barth. Cotton, p. 192.
[2] *Landboc de Winchelcumba*, ii 278; *P. Nich. Tax.*, p. 222.
[3] *Hist. et Cart. Glouc.*, ed. W. H. Hart (Rolls Series), i 249; *P. Nich. Tax.*, p. 161.
[4] Add. MS. 18461, fo. 14 (Brit. Mus.); *P. Nich. Tax.*, p. 161.
[5] I am indebted to Canon C. W. Foster for the loan of this transcript.

of lights in the chancel, and sometimes the provision of chaplains.

In the course of 1291 the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester appointed discreet persons to assess the temporalities of bishopries and all religious houses except those of the Templars and Hospitallers, and of poor nunneries and hospitals. Richard of St. Frideswide, archdeacon of Buckingham, and Robert Luterel, canon of Salisbury, acted for them in the dioceses of Norwich and Ely;[1] Master John de Walecote and William de Steynton in the five archdeaconries of Buckingham, Oxford, Bedford, Huntingdon, and Northampton;[2] Master Peter de l'Ile, archdeacon of Exeter, and Adam de Haston, rector of Beckingham, in the dioceses of Durham and Carlisle; and in the archdeaconries of York, Cleveland, and the East Riding.[3] Bartholomew Cotton, the monk of Norwich, has recorded in precise terms the procedure of this inquisition.[4] In every rural deanery the assessors cited all abbots, priors, and heads of religious houses holding property in that deanery, the bailiffs and reeves of the manors of bishops and religious houses, the rector or vicar and parish chaplain and four or six men from every vill in which the manors were situated, and inquired from them on oath the *verus valor* of the temporalities of the church. Cotton testified that, in spite of the evidence obtained at the inquisition, the bishops and their assessors, Richard of St. Frideswide and Robert Luterel, doubled, trebled, and quadrupled some assessments. Concerning these same assessors the canon of Barnwell wrote:

> Walking in envy and not in the way, led by what spirit I know not, they burdened all the religious beyond measure; refusing to put faith in the oath of clerks and laymen, they forced the religious to swear to the *verus valor* of their temporalities, to put them in writing and seal them with the seals of their chapters. And nevertheless these malevolent assessors exceeded the statement of the religious and assessed at their own will, and in many places they doubled the *verus valor*. Wherefore the bishops, knowing their malice from the complaints of many, ordered a new

[1] Arundel MS. 30, fo. 181v; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, iv 207; *Liber Memorandorum*, p. 200.
[2] *P. Nich. Tax.*, p. 43.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 305, 318, 320.
[4] Barth. Cotton, p. 198.

assessment of certain temporalities by other trustworthy persons, and reduced other assessments of their own wisdom.[1]

Bartholomew Cotton recklessly implicated the bishops in the misdoings of the assessors, but the bishop of Winchester complained to the dean of St. Paul's and the archdeacon of Wells that their valuation of £3107 0*s.* 0¼*d.* for the property of his see was much too high, and he got a small reduction of £129 16*s.* 2¼*d.*[2] The records of Bury St. Edmunds bear witness to a reassessment in the diocese of Norwich in 1293 by Master Thomas of Scarning, archdeacon of Suffolk, and Master J. Fleming.[3] The assessment of the cellarer's temporalities in Suffolk was reduced from £820 15*s.* 2¾*d.* to £665 7*s.* 4¼*d.*; the sacrist's temporalities in Norfolk and Suffolk from £189 8*s.* 4*d.* to £163 1*s.* 4¼*d.*; the offerings at the shrine from £100 to £40;[4] the hundred of Lackford from £9 to £4.[5] In one of the cellarer's registers an entry was made of the grievances of the abbot and convent concerning the excessive assessment of the cellarer's temporalities in 1291;[6] for instance, in the manor of Mildenhall the assessors made no allowance for a charge of a pittance of 20*s.* and a salary of 20*s.* to a chaplain, and they made the cellarer pay twice over for the abbot of Battle's charge on the manor of 20 marks, and their assessment was thus £14 0*s.* 5*d.* higher than the *communis patrie taxacio*, which was presumably the sworn assessment of the witnesses whom they had called. The table on p. 293 shews the several assessments of the principal manors in Suffolk from which the cellarer of Bury St. Edmunds drew his revenues.

The instructions to collectors in the papal bull[7] suggest that the assessment would be based on the manorial account roll and calculated on an average for a number of years.

[1] *Liber Memorandorum*, p. 200.

[2] *Episcopal Reg. of Winchester, Pontissara* (Canterbury and York Society), pp. 197, 198.

[3] Harl. MS. 645, fo. 218v. The MS. has 'R. de Skernigge, archidiac.,' probably in error for Thomas (*cf.* Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii 486), for on fo. 242 Thomas appears as rector of Sutton in error for Richard.

[4] Duchy of Lancaster Records, xi 5, fo. 60v, P.R.O.; Arundel MS. 30, fos. 180v to 182v.

[5] Duchy of Lancaster Records, xi 5, fo. 61v; *P. Nich. Tax.*, p. 130.

[6] Duchy of Lancaster Records, xi 5, fo. 85.

[7] Barth. Cotton, pp. 191–198.

From the total receipt a deduction would be made for the strictly necessary working expenses of ploughing, cultivating the soil, and gathering in the fruits. This was usually a considerable sum, as wages of labour, food for customary tenants, provender for stock, repairs of carts and tools would be included, but no allowance was to be made for new buildings or the maintenance of those already in existence, or for the cost of making dykes, or for any other improvements to the soil. Woods and fisheries were not to be assessed unless a profit on the sales was a usual item of the receipts. Important deductions were to be allowed on the item *staurum expensum*; fish, beasts of the warren, fruit, and vegetables were not to be taxed if consumed by the bishop or by the religious, or given as presents without intention to defraud. Lands or rents granted for the purpose of providing pittances were to be exempt. In estimating the profits of manorial courts the salaries paid to judges and officials prior to the papal grant of the tenth might be deducted, but nothing for any allowance of food and clothes. The expense of castle-guard, a considerable burden on some of the great Benedictine houses, was disallowed. When a priory or manor was farmed out the tenth was to be paid upon the rental, if it had been fixed at a fair rate without special regard to other circumstances.

The returns for most of the dioceses are very brief, and notify only the amount of the assessment of the temporalities, information sufficient for the tax-gatherer, but utterly baffling to a student in search of the underlying principle. However very full returns were made for Hereford, Coventry and Lichfield, and the Welsh dioceses. These shew that the form of the assessment was not borrowed from the manorial account roll, with its profits from the sale of corn and other produce, but that it approximated more closely to the manorial extent.[1] In assessing the value of the demesne land of a manor or grange the sworn inquisitors avoided the difficulty of interpreting 'necessary expenses' and of balancing profit and loss by reckoning arable, meadow, and pasture as worth so much a carucate or an acre per annum at the current rental of the manor. Rents, mills,

[1] There are some exceptions, Lunt, *op. cit.* p. 162.

Name of Manor	Taxation of 1265–9, partly on the Norwich Taxation of 1254, partly on a new assessment of the King's clerks in 1267 (Arundel MS. 30, fo. 155v). The figures of the Norwich Taxation are enclosed within brackets	Taxation of Pope Nicholas: Assessment of 1274 for the Tenth of the Council of Lyons (Arundel MS. 30, fo. 213)	Taxation of Pope Nicholas: Assessment of Richard of St. Frideswide and R. Luterel, 1291 (Duchy of Lancaster Records, xi. 5, fo. 60v)	Taxation of Pope Nicholas: 'Communis Patrie Estimacio, 1291' (Duchy of Lancaster Records, xi. 5, fo. 85)	Taxation of Pope Nicholas: Reassessment of 1293 (Arundel MS. 30, fo. 181v; cf. *P. Nich. Tax.*, pp. 124–133)
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Mildenhall	[30 0 0]	81 13 4	110 8 1½	96 7 8½	99 14 10½
Barton Parva	[10 0 0]	10 0 0	19 1 2½	16 6 4½	14 8 3½
Herringswell	11 6 3½	30 5 0	24 16 8½	—	17 4 10½
Elveden	[5 0 0]	16 13 4	25 4 6	—	16 19 8
Whepstead	19 18 9	40 0 0	45 16 0	44 6 0	37 17 2
Horningsheath Magna	19 15 2½	43 6 8	44 1 10½	44 1 10½	36 8 0½
Risby	9 4 2	23 13 4	20 17 8	—	16 13 6
Newton	8 13 9	23 6 8	28 1 5½	—	22 10 1½
The Cellarer's Grange	16 0 0	55 0 0	73 8 6	71 8 0	70 10 1½
Ingham	12 13 1½	26 13 4	30 8 8	16 13 2	17 15 8
Timworth			2 8 0	—	2 3 1
Fornham St. Martin	8 16 0½	13 6 8	24 18 4	9 14 10½	15 1 10
Bradfield Monachorum	20 0 0	36 10 0	46 17 6	27 8 6	34 8 6
Pakenham	40 13 9	83 13 4	79 1 1½	51 5 8½	62 14 0½
Rougham	20 17 1	40 6 8	43 6 4¼	32 0 0¼	39 3 4¼
Barton	25 13 4	60 0 0	61 4 9	40 17 9	47 3 3
Groten	16 0 0 (Tunc maneria	13 11 8	10 11 11½	—	7 14 9½
Semer	6 13 4 sacriste)	26 13 4	23 14 0	23 5 7	15 13 0
Chellesworth	—		22 19 4	—	22 19 4
Cockfield	11 17 6 (Porcio conuentus)	53 11 0	55 7 3	—	42 6 5

profits of woods, fisheries, and dovecots, fines and perquisites follow in due order, and labour services were entered only when they had been commuted for money. There is clear evidence that in this assessment only flocks and herds were treated as movables; these were valued separately on the sole items of their yearly increase and of the sale of milk and cheese, for wool, woolfells, and hides were subject to the indirect taxation of the customs. In the Welsh dioceses cows and mares were valued at a shilling a head unless they numbered over a hundred, when the cost of custody was slightly diminished; *e.g.* 106 cows belonging to the abbot of Conway were assessed at £6 6*s*. Sheep appear to have been valued at between threepence and fourpence a head.

This analysis of the assessment suggests that it was calculated only on the rental—and that probably a minimum—at which manors and granges might be let, although the bishops and the religious then farmed the greater part of their own lands at a profit. It was the method of assessment of the *bona immobilia* of Malton Priory in 1254.[1] If this theory may be accepted the *verus valor* of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas is closely akin to the *valet* of Domesday Book, concerning which Professor Maitland wrote: 'On the whole the *valet* of Domesday Book, so far as it is precise, seems to me an answer to the question, What rent would a *firmarius* pay for this estate stocked as it is? But there are many difficulties.' [2] His comment that in Domesday Book 'we are baffled by the make-believe of ancient finance' [3] is equally true of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas. It is clearly misleading to represent the assessment of the temporalities of a religious house as its income, either gross or net, from that source. Moreover, the evidence concerning ecclesiastical revenues, scanty though it is, shews that these do not correspond even approximately to the assessment. In the roll of the bursar of the monastery of Durham for 1293 the receipts were £3741 9*s*. 10¾*d*., including the payment of arrears of £1368 1*s*. 8*d*.; in 1295 the receipts again amounted to £3975 16*s*. 11½*d*., and in 1297 to £3626 5*s*. 5¼*d*.; [4]

[1] MS. Cotton Claudius D xi, fo. 279.
[2] F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 444.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 473.
[4] *Durham Account Rolls*, ed. J. T. Fowler (Surtees Soc.), ii 489–494.

and although the cellarer and the master of the garners drew almost the whole of their revenues from the bursar, the sacrist, chamberlain, and hosteller had their own endowments, amounting probably to another £400 : [1] yet the temporalities of Durham were assessed at £620 [2] in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, and the spiritualities at under £700, not reckoning the churches in Scotland and the proceeds of Coldingham Priory, which brought in together £149 5*s.* 8*d.* in 1293. The barony of Bury St. Edmunds was assessed at £766 13*s.* 4*d.* in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, yet from April 21 to November 5, 1279, the net receipt of the escheators was £839 7*s.* 0½*d.*[3] In 1292 the receipts of the sacrist of Ely amounted to £240 13*s.* 5*d.*, and the charges, such as payments to the vicar of Wentworth, etc., did not exceed £25, yet the tenth paid was under £15.[4] The spiritualities and temporalities of the sacrist of Bury St. Edmunds were assessed at £209 1*s.* 4¼*d.*,[5] yet for the half-year after Michaelmas 1299 his receipts were £184 14*s.* 10¼*d.*, and his expenses were £203 11*s.* 2¾*d.*[6] A number of monasteries, including many Cistercian and Gilbertine houses, derived a considerable revenue from the sale of wool, which was not assessed in the Taxation, and the list printed by Archdeacon Cunningham is of great interest, for it was probably compiled in the latter half of the thirteenth century and it specifies the average number of sacks sold at each house and the price of them.[7] The temporalities of Winchcombe were assessed at under £110 in 1291, and 40 sacks of wool were sold on an average at the rate of 13 marks a sack. The temporalities of Hayles were assessed at £58 3*s.* 11*d.*, and 20 sacks of wool were sold on an average at prices varying from 10 to 7 marks a sack, according to the quality. The temporalities of Fountains were assessed at £356 6*s.* 8*d.*, and the average sale of wool was 76 sacks at from 21 to

[1] *Durham Account Rolls*, vol. i. :

[2] *P. Nich. Tax.*, p. 318.

[3] P pe Roll, 9 Ed. I, m. 3. This sum included 100 marks from the abbot's executors.

[4] *Sacrist Rolls of Ely*, ed. F. R. Chapman, ii 3–13.

[5] Arundel MS. 30, fos. 180ᵛ to 182ᵛ.

[6] *Hist. Manuscripts Comm.*, 14*th Report*, Appendix, pt. viii, p. 123.

[7] W. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages* (4th ed., 1905), pp. 628–641.

9 marks. The temporalities of Malton were assessed at £202 8*s*. 5*d*., and the average sale of wool was 45 sacks at from 17 to 6 marks, and from 1244 to 1258 the receipts from wool amounted to £5224 9*s*. 3*d*.[1] Other houses which were not on the list are also known to have been engaged in the wool trade, among them Gloucester[2] and Lanthony by Gloucester.[3]

Though the Taxation of Pope Nicholas will not reveal the income of the monasteries or of the beneficed clergy, it is nevertheless a most valuable record. By painful calculation Bishop Stubbs arrived at the yield of a clerical tenth, and thus approximately at the produce of a vote of a tenth and fifteenth.[4] It is difficult to calculate aright the assessment of the different monasteries from the printed text of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas. The spiritualities cannot be determined, because in the greater number of dioceses the appropriation of churches is not specified; they appear to have been carefully noted in York, Durham, and Norwich, in the archdeaconries of Oxford, Coventry, and Salop, and in some deaneries of Canterbury, but elsewhere occasionally or not at all. In a manuscript written in the cathedral monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, during the rule of Prior Eastry (1284–1331) all the appropriations of churches in the diocese of Canterbury are recorded.[5] A papal bull or a charter confirming all the possessions of a monastery will sometimes solve the difficulty. Episcopal registers, particularly those of the diocese of Lincoln,[6] are invaluable. Although the spiritualities of Bury St. Edmunds lay in the diocese of Norwich the assessment of them has been recently calculated at £152 13*s*. 4*d*.,[7] instead of £202 13*s*. 4*d*., through the omission of the churches of Pakenham, Great Barton, and St. Lawrence at Norwich, and several pensions.

The total assessment of temporalities is only a matter of arithmetic, but the text of the Taxation supplies no safe clue

[1] *Ante* p. 264.
[2] *Hist. et Cart. Glouc.* i 39.
[3] *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, xviii 44.
[4] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, ii 579.
[5] MS. Cotton, Galba E iv.
[6] *Rolls of Hugh de Welles*, *Rolls of Grosseteste*, *Rolls of Gravesend* (Canterbury and York Society).
[7] *Victoria County Hist. Suffolk*, ii 68.

to the division of property between the abbot, convent, and obedientiars of the Benedictine houses. Bury St. Edmunds is a notable instance. In the manuscript of John of Everisden at the College of Arms the assessment of temporalities is entered under separate headings for the cellarer, sacrist, and other officers, and an identical list occurs in other registers of the monastery.[1] The difference between these totals for the three chief obedientiars and the totals recently calculated from the Taxation of Pope Nicholas is as follows:

—	Arundel MS. 30			*Victoria County History of Suffolk*, ii 68		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Cellarer	750	0	9¾	390	16	6¼
Sacrist	163	1	4¼	134	3	11¾
Camerarius	122	12	1½	69	12	5½

In the printed text of the Taxation, as indeed in the original rolls, certain manors and rents are merely noted as belonging to the convent; hence the discrepancy between the above figures. If further evidence is needed of the appropriation of those manors and rents to the obedientiars in 1291, it is found in a charter of Edward I dated 1281, in which he confirmed a distribution of property between the abbot and obedientiars.[2] The abbot and convent were jointly liable for the payment of tenths, and therefore assessors and collectors were not concerned to make an exact return of the division of the property. The ambiguous 'convent' is peculiarly misleading for Bury, as the common fund was extremely small and was mainly derived from the contributions of the obedientiars.[3] The total assessment of spiritualities and temporalities of the abbot and convent amounted to £2071 12*s.* 5*d.*, and the total of nearly £1000 [4] of the most recent calculation is a curious error. The return for the prior and convent of Ely [5] is extremely confused as regards the division of property; rents in Ely and Cambridge correspond with the sacrist's

[1] Harl. MS. 638, fo. 222, the scribe having left the date as 1200; Harl. MS. 27, fo. 164.
[2] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, iii 156.
[3] Duchy of Lancaster Records, xi 5, fo. 62[v]; Harl. MS. 3977, fo. 49.
[4] *Vict. County Hist. Suffolk*, ii 68. [5] *P. Nich. Tax.*, p. 270.

receipts in 1291–1292, but the granges of Ely and Wentworth, from which he drew £119, are not assigned to him. The common fund was large at Ely and was administered by the treasurers, but the property appears to be entered under the prior's name. A list of spiritualities and temporalities as assessed in 1291 was entered in some register of every monastery, and whenever this can be found it will give more accurate totals than those obtained by tedious calculations from the printed text of the exchequer manuscript. The assessments for Barnwell,[1] St. Albans,[2] Spalding,[3] St. Neots,[4] and Meaux [5] may be mentioned as examples. However, the registers and charters of a great many lesser monasteries have now disappeared, and the Taxation becomes the sole source for their endowments at the end of the thirteenth century. Leper hospitals and other hospitals for the sick poor, nunneries and other communities of the religious who could not live of their own and were forced to beg, were exempt from the payment of the tenth,[6] and therefore are not entered in the assessment.

The Taxation of Pope Nicholas is, again, a valuable source for the study of parochial and diocesan history, if its limitations are understood, and statistics are not based upon it without references to other sources. Variations in the returns of spiritualities preclude an exact calculation of the number of parishes and vicarages in a county or diocese. Benefices not exceeding six marks were exempt from taxation if the rectors held no other living,[7] and unless they were appropriated to religious houses; they therefore do not appear in the printed text. For a few archdeaconries and dioceses there are schedules of benefices and vicarages not exceeding six marks, viz. the archdeaconries of London, Middlesex, Leicester, Lincoln, Stowe, Coventry, and Salop, and the dioceses of Hereford, Exeter, and Durham. In the return for the archdeaconries of London and Middlesex it is stated that these benefices exceed two marks, implying that there were others below that amount, whereas in the diocese

[1] *Liber Memorandorum*, pp. 201–203.
[2] MS. Cotton Claudius E iv, fo. 337.
[3] MS. Add. 5844, fo. 94.
[4] MS. Cotton Faustina A iv, fos. 35ᵛ to 37.
[5] MS. Egerton 1141, fo. 177ᵛ.
[6] Barth. Cotton, p. 192.
[7] *Ibid.*

of Exeter no fewer than seventy-eight benefices, vicarages, and chapels were assessed at less than two marks a year, and eight chapels in the city of Exeter were not assessed at all, because their revenues scarcely sufficed for the maintenance of a chaplain. Churches below six marks in the diocese of Canterbury are not in the printed text, but their assessments are entered in two Canterbury manuscripts.[1] A complete list of churches in the diocese of Winchester, including both rectories and vicarages which were not assessed for taxation, is also contained in William of Wykeham's *vade mecum*.[2]

Another possible source of error is the exemption of certain spiritualities: those of the Templars and Hospitallers may be ascertained from the report of Prior Philip de Thame to the grand master of the Hospitallers in 1338,[3] but those of poor nunneries and hospitals can only be gleaned from registers and charters; for instance, in the deanery of Wangford, in the archdeaconry of Suffolk, Ilketshall St. Andrew, Ilketshall St. Lawrence, and Bungay St. Thomas are altogether missing, while only the vicarages of All Saints, Mettingham, and Ilketshall St. Margaret are returned,[4] all five churches being appropriated to the Benedictine nunnery of Bungay.[5] Although Templars and Hospitallers and poor nunneries were exempt from taxation for the crusades, they were obliged to pay on their assessment for national defence against the Scots in 1298.[6] It is important to note that the schedules of benefices not exceeding ten marks which are appended to some dioceses do not supplement the ordinary returns and were only compiled in 1294, when they were exempt, because in that year Edward I took a moiety instead of a tenth.[7] In many dioceses it is not possible to determine that a benefice has not been appropriated, since the vicarage may not exceed six marks and will not appear in the return, and a calculation of the number of vicarages in 1291 will probably be too low. Thus there is no schedule of benefices not exceeding six marks for the

[1] MS. Cotton, Galba, E iv, fos. 8v—12; MS. Add. 6159, fos. 73v—77.
[2] *Episcopal Registers of Winchester, Wykeham* i, 374–382 (Hampshire Record Society).
[3] *Knights Hospitallers in England*, ed. L. B. Larking (Camden Society).
[4] *P. Nich. Tax.*, p. 118.
[5] *Vict. County Hist. Suffolk*, ii 81.
[6] Cf. *post* p. 320.
[7] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 22 Ed. I, m. 8.

diocese of Norwich, and in the county of Norfolk only 723 benefices were assessed in 1291, yet 782 are entered in the Norwich taxation, including about twenty churches in the city of Norwich which escaped taxation because the revenues were too small.[1] Eighty vicarages were assessed in 1254, and in 1291 their number had risen to 176,[2] yet only 34 exceeded six marks, the remaining 142 being exempt. In the Taxation there is merely a note stating that the vicarage was *indecimabilis*, but in the Domesday Book of Norwich the assessments of these are given.[3] In the archdeaconry of Suffolk twenty-two vicarages exceed six marks in 1291; but it cannot be seriously contended[4] that the number of vicarages was only twenty-two, for over sixty other churches were appropriated to religious houses,[5] and an obvious deduction which might be verified in the Domesday Book of Norwich is that there were vicarages in these churches below the legal amount. The absence of vicarages, and also of portions, with one exception, in the Norwich Taxation for the archdeaconry of Suffolk has been commented upon because the majority of the twenty-two vicarages assessed in 1291 were ordained before 1254,[6] but a comparison between the relative rise of the assessments for the archdeaconries of Suffolk and Sudbury warrants a conjecture that in the return for Suffolk benefice, vicarage, and portion are entered together as one total.

Tercia usque ad ossa excoriat.[7] John de Schalby, who was in the service of Oliver Sutton, bishop of Lincoln, as his registrar, wrote that in one thing only he was blameworthy, for he allowed the prebends and churches of his diocese to be assessed at an excessive amount,[8] and he repented bitterly before he died in 1299. The 'Angel Choir' of his cathedral church was still unfinished.[9] Nineteen years earlier, only a few months after Oliver Sutton's consecration, the body of St. Hugh of Lincoln had been

[1] *Vict. County Hist. Norfolk*, ii 235. [2] *Ibid.* p. 236.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Vict. County Hist. Suffolk*, ii 14.
[5] *P. Nich. Tax.*, pp. 115–119.
[6] *Vict. County Hist. Suffolk*, ii 13, 14.
[7] *Liber Memorandorum*, ed. J. W. Clarke, p. 191 *ante* 272.
[8] *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vii, ed. Dimock, p. 210. (Rolls Series.)
[9] A. F. Kendrick, *The Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, pp. 27–30. (Bell's Series.)

translated to the new and costly shrine in the centre of the 'Angel Choir' in the presence of Edward I and Queen Eleanor, Edmund, Earl of Kent and his wife; the Earls of Gloucester and Warwick, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Bath, Ely, Norwich, Worcester, Llandaff, Bangor, and St. Asaph; the bishop-elect of Exeter and 250 knights. In 1297 and 1298 Bishop Oliver Sutton issued appeals, letters of indulgence and injunctions to the rural deans to collect the money to complete the work.[1] But for the first three years only the collectors of the tenths for the crusade, assessed in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, accounted for the receipt from the diocese of Lincoln of £12,354 2*s.* $7\frac{3}{4}$*d.*;[2] a sum nearly approaching to £250,000 according to the value of money before the war of 1914–1918. It was no wonder that money was scarce, and the canon of Barnwell wrote: 'Through these assessments there are many extortions in the church; the poor are despoiled, the rich have abundance; foreigners grow wealthy, alms are withdrawn, beggars die of hunger; faith and truth are proscribed.'[3]

[1] A. F. Kendrick, *op. cit.* p. 27; *Archaeological Journal*, vol. L p. 42.
[2] *Episcopal Reg. of Winchester, Pontissara*, ii 787.
[3] *Liber Memorandorum*, p. 191.

XII

A PETITION TO BONIFACE VIII FROM THE CLERGY OF THE PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY IN 1297

At the assembly of the clergy of the province of Canterbury which met in London at the New Temple on August 10, 1297, to discuss the question of making a grant to the king,[1] it was decided to present a petition 'touching the common good of the clergy and of the kingdom' to Pope Boniface VIII,[2] which was mainly a plea for relief from heavy and increasing financial burdens.

The first article of the petition dealt with the excessive amount of the procurations which were demanded by the cardinals of Albano and Palestrina. On February 13, 1295, Boniface VIII had given these French cardinals a commission to make peace between England and France, and, as was usual when the pope sent a legate, they had the power of levying procurations.[3] Nominally the levy was to pay the cost of the mission, but in reality it was a source of revenue for the papal exchequer; before the cardinals left Rome Boniface VIII appointed a firm of papal bankers, the Clarenti of Pistoia, which had partners residing in France and England, to receive procurations levied by the cardinals, and to make payments to them for their necessary expenses.[4]

The cardinals landed at Dover on June 24, where they were met by the prior of the cathedral church of Canterbury and the abbot of St. Augustine's, who escorted them to

[1] J. Armitage Robinson, 'Convocation of Canterbury: its Early History,' *Church Quarterly Review*, lxxxi 109.

[2] *Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury*, Winchelsey, fos. 309^{v}, 310.

[3] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i 562; *Bartholomaei de Cotton Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series), pp. 282, 287–289; *Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Digard (Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome), i 247.

[4] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i 563; *Registres de Boniface VIII*, i 247.

Canterbury.[1] The cardinal of Albano spent the night at St. Augustine's, and the cardinal of Palestrina in the archbishop's palace, and on the morrow both visited the shrine of St. Thomas before they set out on their journey to London. The archbishop met them at Harbledown and rode with them to Ospringe, and on the next day he left them near Gillingham. On their arrival in London they probably lodged with the papal collector, Geoffrey of Vezano, who had a permanent office for the collection of Peter's pence and other dues.[2]

On July 8 they issued a mandate for the collection of procurations in which it was stated that they had examined trustworthy witnesses, and had learnt from them that when Cardinal Ottoboni was in England from 1265 to 1268 he levied a procuration of six marks each year from archbishops and bishops, abbots, priors, deans, provosts and archdeacons, rural deans and other prelates and ecclesiastical persons, the religious and others, their chapters and convents both of orders which were exempt from episcopal visitation and of those which were subject to it.[3] They appointed collectors in every diocese, *e.g.* in that of London the bishop's official and the dean of St. Paul's,[4] in those of Norwich and Ely the bishop's official and the sacrist of the cathedral monastery,[5] and commanded them under pain of excommunication to collect the procuration of six marks and pay it over within a month. They published the papal bulls about their procurations at an assembly of the bishops of the province of Canterbury in London on July 15.[6] Some of the collectors protested that they could find no precedent for the collection of Cardinal Ottoboni's procuration and therefore they did not know how to act. In reply the cardinals issued a general mandate, dated July 25, to archbishops, bishops, and their collectors in every diocese, notifying them that they intended to have the procuration

[1] *Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. Stubbs (Rolls Series), ii 311.

[2] Rev. O. Jensen, 'The "Denarius Sancti Petri" in England,' *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.* (New Series), xix 230.

[3] *Cotton*, pp. 283–285.

[4] *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1288–96, p. 423.

[5] *Cotton*, p. 283, *Ecclesie de Bernewelle Liber Memorandorum*, ed. J. Willis Clark, p. 236.

[6] *Gervase of Canterbury*, ii 312.

of six marks from all dignitaries and religious houses as they had previously stated.[1] If, however, any of the religious houses were so burdened by poverty that they could not pay, the collectors must require the archbishops and bishops to nominate certain rectors of parishes who could find the money without difficulty, so that the full amount might be got in.

There is some evidence of opposition to the collectors. On August 25 the king forbade the bishop of London's official and the dean of St. Paul's to exact any procuration from the dean and chapter of his free chapel of St. Martin-le-Grand,[2] and it is probable that he protected his free chapels in other dioceses, *e.g.* Hastings. The collectors demanded payment of the procuration of six marks from the monks of Westminster as well as from the abbot, and the monks sent their proctors, Reginald of Hadham and Ralph of Morden, to the bishop of London's house on August 10. There a notarial instrument was executed in the presence of the collectors and other witnesses in which the monks asserted that they gave the sum of six marks out of courtesy as a token of reverence to the cardinals, and not because a procuration was due from them ; in accordance with the terms of a composition made between the chapter and the abbot, the abbot was bound to pay the procurations and expenses of all papal legates who travelled with ten horses.[3] However, the protest was of no avail, for in the roll of the treasurer of the convent in 1297 the sum of £22 os. 10*d*. is entered as paid for the procurations of the cardinals.[4] The payment of a double procuration in 1295, *i.e.* from the chapter as well as from the head of the house, is recorded at Canterbury and Worcester as well as at Westminster.[5]

When the cardinals put their proposals before the king and the great council at Westminster on August 5, he replied

[1] *Cotton*, pp. 289–292. [2] *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1288–96, p. 423.
[3] Westminster Abbey Muniments, No. 9499A.
[4] Ibid. No. 19838. I am indebted to the Rev. H. F. Westlake for this reference, and for kindly giving me access to the Westminster Abbey Muniments.
[5] *Literae Cantuarienses*, ed. J. B. Sheppard (Rolls Series), ii 174, 175 ; *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, iv 521 ; *Flores Historiarum*, ed. Luard, iii 280 ; cf. *Cotton*, p. 299. When the head of the house had separate property, a double procuration was charged.

that he could not make either a truce or a peace with the king of France without the consent of the king of the Germans.[1] The chroniclers recorded that as the cardinals could not accomplish their business they left London for Dover on August 14; however, they actually carried with them letters from the king of that date, authorizing them to conclude a truce until All Saints' Day.[2]

The chronicler of Barnwell entered the receipt for the procuration paid by his house and observed that the cardinals went away 'wealthy with much money and with palfreys which they had got from all the bishops.'[3] The cardinals had a papal privilege enabling them to travel with as many horses as they judged necessary for their mission, and to demand them from those persons on whom they also levied procurations.[4] The prior of Norwich had duly paid his six marks when he received a further demand from the cardinals, dated August 13, for ten marks for the purchase of a baggage horse, to be paid within a fortnight to merchants of the firm of the Ammanati of Pistoia on pain of excommunication and other penalties which would be enforced by Master John de Luco, canon of St. Paul's.[5]

The cardinals returned to France and made Paris their headquarters, but as the truce which preceded the peace between England and France was not signed until 1297, they levied procurations not at the flat rate of six marks as in 1295, but at fourpence in the mark for the second year, and at threepence in the mark for the third year, on the new assessment of the spiritualities and temporalities of the church which was known as the Taxation of Pope Nicholas.[6] In the second and third years they ordered procurations to be collected, for the first time, from rectors and vicars of parish churches.

The effect of this change was that all who were assessed at under £240 would pay less than six marks at the rate of fourpence, but the bishops and the larger monasteries

[1] *Gervase of Canterbury*, ii 311; *Flores Hist.* iii 279, 280.
[2] Rymer, *Foedera*, i 825.
[3] *Ecclesie de Bernewelle Liber Memorandorum*, pp. 235, 236.
[4] *Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Digard, i 243.
[5] *Cotton*, pp. 292, 293.
[6] *Episcopal Registers of Carlisle, Halton* (Canterbury and York Society), i 90–94.

would be liable for a much higher amount, and in fact a heavy supertax was imposed upon them. The amount due from the archbishop of Canterbury for the second year was over £47,[1] and the bishop of Salisbury actually paid £25 for the second year and £18 15*s.* 0*d.* in the third year as against £4 in the first year.[2] Moreover, at a rough estimate the yield of the procurations for the second and third years for the two provinces of Canterbury and York would be £9000,[3] an enormous burden to be borne wholly by the Church for the peace mission of the two cardinals.

The mandate for the levy for the second year was dated at Paris on October 9, 1296, and was addressed to archbishops and bishops in England and Wales; they were ordered to arrange for the demand to reach all who were liable within a month of receiving the mandate, and the procuration was due to be paid within a month of the demand and delivered in London to the firm of merchants who were acting as the cardinals' agents, the Clarenti of Pistoia.[4] These merchants had a safe-conduct which was renewed from time to time by Edward I, who also issued a mandate that all persons who refused to pay procurations should, after excommunication, be compelled thereto in due manner.[5] Nevertheless the procurations were in arrear, and on April 30, 1297, the cardinals wrote from Paris to give the resident papal collector, Geoffrey of Vezano, the power to absolve the many persons who had incurred the penalty of excommunication for non-payment.[6] On August 22, 1297, Geoffrey sent a letter to the archbishops and bishops urging them to collect the procurations and notifying them of his power to absolve offenders; he was ready to treat them with gentleness, but he warned them not to despise the keys of the Church.[7] On February 5, 1298, Archbishop Winchelsey notified Geoffrey that he would collect the procurations

[1] Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Reynolds, fo. 80.
[2] *Episcopal Registers of Salisbury, Simon de Gandavo* (Canterbury and York Society), p. 340.
[3] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* (ed. 1887), ii 580.
[4] *Reg. Carlisle, Halton*, i 90, 91.
[5] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1292–1301, pp. 150, 210, etc.
[6] *Episc. Reg. of Hereford, Swinfield* (Canterbury and York Society), p. 344.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 344.

due from his own diocese for the second and third years, and told Geoffrey to address himself to the collectors originally appointed by the cardinals.[1] The archbishop was then engaged in collecting the tenth granted by his province to repel the Scottish invasion,[2] and it was not until July 7, 1298, that he issued instructions for the collection of these procurations which were long overdue.[3] It is possible that he had delayed in the hope that the petition to Boniface VIII from the clergy might meet with some success.

The first article of the petition was that the procurations for the second and third years should for several reasons be reduced.[4] The clergy urged that this new imposition was most burdensome and would become a precedent; the cardinals had exacted a full procuration both from England and from France; the Church in England was oppressed by many wrongs and was unable to find so much money, and the sentences of excommunication were so stringently enforced by the cardinals that many of the clergy were suffering under them solely for their poverty. Lastly, the excessive procuration was recognized to be illegal; Cardinal Ottoboni and other legates were content with the moderate procuration of six marks, often they received less, and they never attempted to exact it from parish churches.

The second article of the petition was that the assessment of church lands and benefices in 1291, known as the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, should be carefully revised; they were then assessed above their value, the value was falling continually, and procurations such as those of the cardinals and other contributions would be levied on this assessment. The clergy had some justification for detesting this new assessment. In the bull of Nicholas IV there was a reservation that the taxation should be borne by churches and their rulers without grave inconvenience.[5] Even the bishop of Winchester, who together with the bishop of Lincoln was responsible to Nicholas IV for the making of the assessment, complained to the dean of St. Paul's and

[1] *Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Winchelsey* (Canterbury and York Society), p. 223.
[2] *Post*, pp. 319, 320.
[3] *Reg. of Cant., Winchelsey*, p. 262.
[4] Reg. of Cant., Winchelsey, fos. 309v, 310.
[5] Cotton, *op. cit.* pp. 189, 190.

the archdeacon of Wells that their valuation of £3107 0s. 0¼d. for the property of his see was much too high, and he got a reduction of £129 16s. 2¼d.[1] The rise in the assessment was in many cases a real grievance, and it can be most easily understood by studying the printed texts of the 'Norwich Taxation of Spiritualities' in 1254 in the dioceses of Norwich[2] and Ely.[3] In the diocese of Ely the assessment of only a small number of benefices remained the same, and on the higher assessments there was a very considerable increase, Haddenham rising from 60 to 120 marks, Leverington with the vicarage from 80 marks to 127½ without it, Cottenham from 33 to 60 marks, Over from 25 to 53 marks. The evidence is even more striking in other dioceses. In the diocese of Canterbury the parish church of Fordwich rose from 1 to 10 marks, Sturry from 4½ to 20, Reculver from 50 to 200; in that of Rochester, Shoreham with its chapels was raised from 40 to 80 marks, Northfleet from 40 to 100, Cliffe from 40 to 110, Sevenoaks, Penshurst, and Chiddingstone all from 20 to 50.[4] In the diocese of Winchester, Wimbledon rose from 20 to 60, Merstham from 12 to 35; in that of Chichester, Tarring rose from 56¼ to 80, Stanmer from 7½ to 20, Ifield from 6 to 15.[5] But though the Taxation of Pope Nicholas resulted in the payment of much heavier taxes by the bishops, the larger monasteries, and the richer clergy, the burden was most severely felt by the poorer parish priests, many of whom now became subject to taxation for the first time, *e.g.* in the diocese of Canterbury the vicarages of Rolvenden, Sittingbourne, and Newington were raised from 1½ to 10 marks, of Chilham, Northbourne, and Wye from 3 to 10, of Reculver from 3 to 25, Ospringe and Tenterden from 3 to 15, Eastchurch from 3 to 20, Elham and Lydd from 6 to 25.[6] The sympathy of the province of Canterbury with their poorer brethren was shewn when they met in November 1297 to grant a tenth for defence against the Scottish invasion; the archbishop, bishops,

[1] *Episc. Reg. of Winchester, Pontissara* (Canterbury and York Society), pp. 197, 198.
[2] *Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*, xvii 46–157.
[3] *Ecclesie de Bernewelle Liber Memorandorum*, pp. 191–199.
[4] Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 6159, fos. 73ᵛ–77ᵛ.
[5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.*

deans and chapters, and the heads of monasteries agreed to pay their tenth on the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, but the contribution from rectors and vicars was levied on the Norwich Taxation of 1254, by which most of the poorer clergy were entirely exempted.[1] Moreover, vicarages which had been created between 1254 and 1291 were not in the Norwich Taxation, therefore these vicars escaped altogether.

In the third article of the petition the clergy requested the pope to appoint some one living in England to absolve the clergy who had incurred the sentence of excommunication by disregarding the bull *Clericis laicos*, and thus relieve them from the costly procedure of sending a proctor to the papal penitentiary for absolution. When Edward I outlawed the clergy on January 30, 1297, most of them compounded, and so escaped the seizure of their property.[2] It was represented to the pope that many were afraid that they were under excommunication, and so they absented themselves from divine service.

The last two articles of the petition were directed against the proceedings of Geoffrey of Vezano, who was resident papal collector in England from 1276 until 1302. The yearly amount paid in Peter's pence to the pope was 299 marks, and the contributions from the different dioceses were fixed before 1133.[3] A penny was levied from each household. From the twelfth to the fourteenth century the popes made attempts to secure the full amount collected from the people.[4] Innocent III complained that the bishops acquired a thousand marks in collecting Peter's pence.[5] In 1282 Geoffrey of Vezano received a mandate from Pope Martin IV to inquire into the way in which Peter's pence had been collected by archbishops, bishops, and other prelates who were said to keep back part of it, and to apply such remedy as might be had without scandal. The clergy now petitioned that Geoffrey should demand no more from the bishops for Peter's pence than the customary amount; they alleged that Gregory V (996–999), or Gregory VI (1045–1046), had specified it in a bull and

[1] *Ante*, pp. 298–300. [2] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii 135, 136.
[3] Rev. O. Jensen 'The "Denarius Sancti Petri" in England,' *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.* (New Series), xv 183–188, 206.
[4] *Ibid.* xix 229, 230. [5] *Ibid.* p. 229.

suggested that it could be found by searching the register.[1] The following papal letter which is entered in the register of Simon of Ghent is probably the document which is mentioned in the petition.[2]

Gregorius servus servorum dei venerabilibus fratribus Cantuariensi et Eboracensi archiepiscopis et eorum suffraganeis et dilectis filiis abbatibus prioribus archidiaconis eorumque officialibus per regnum Anglie constitutis ad quos iste littere pervenerint salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Qualiter denarius beati Petri qui debetur camere nostre colligatur in Anglia, scilicet in quibus dyocesibus debeatur ne super hoc dubitari contingat presentibus fecimus annotari, sicut in registro sedis apostolice continetur.

The statement of the customary amounts, in which there are two trifling clerical errors, follows, and the letter is dated at Orvieto on April 22 in the second year of the pope. From internal evidence it appears to have been written by Gregory X. The diocese of Ely was not created until 1109. Gregory VIII was pope from October 20 to December 17, 1187, Gregory IX was at Perugia on the date of the letter, while Gregory X was actually at Orvieto.[3]

It is clear that the archbishops and bishops regarded the difference between the sum due to the pope and the total collection as a part of their income. In the Sede Vacante Register of the diocese of Worcester in 1302 there is an entry that the sum total of Peter's pence yearly was £34 12*s.* 7½*d.*, of which £10 5*s.* 0*d.* was paid to the pope, so the bishop had £24 7*s.* 7½*d.*[4] In the later years of the thirteenth century in the diocese of Ely, Peter's pence reached a total of £15 or over, and £5 was paid to the pope.[5] There are entries in the Pipe Rolls shewing the amount collected for Peter's pence during the vacancy of bishoprics and the profit to the exchequer after the fixed sum was paid over for the pope; the most striking was in the case of the diocese of York

[1] Reg. Cant., Winchelsey, fos. 309ᵛ, 310.
[2] Reg. Salisbury, Simon de Gandavo, fo. 184.
[3] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i 119, 446.
[4] *Registrum Sede Vacante*, ed. J. Willis Bund (Worcestershire Hist. Soc.), pp. 33, 34.
[5] *Vetus Liber Archidiaconi Eliensis*, ed. C. T. Feltoe and E. H. Minns, p. 28.

in 1185, when the exchequer profited to the amount of £105 18*s.* 5*d.* after £11 10*s.* 0*d.* had been paid to the archbishop of Canterbury for the pope.[1]

In the fifth article the clergy asked that the bishops should dispose of the goods of the bishops and clergy who died intestate, and that they should not be obliged to answer to Geoffrey of Vezano or to pay over anything to him. They pointed out that Cardinal Ottoboni had recognized the law of the kingdom under which the bishops disposed of the goods of intestates ' to pious uses.' [2]

It was decided to send Master Robert of Gloucester and Master Anselm of Eastry to present the petition to the Pope.[3] Master Robert of Gloucester was probably the doctor of canon law who had held a prebend of the cathedral church of Hereford since 1283 ; he was the bishop's official, and had been at the papal curia as his proctor.[4] He now begged to be excused on the ground of ill health and other reasons, of which one perhaps was his appointment on October 25, 1297, as official of the old and infirm bishop of Worcester.[5] In a letter to the bishop of Norwich, dated October 27, Archbishop Winchelsey wrote that after much discussion with those whom he usually consulted and other persons, it was agreed that Master Hamo of Gateley, rector of East Tuddenham, should be appointed in the place of Master Robert.[6] He begged the bishop to put the common good before his own advantage and to persuade Master Hamo, who was then in his service, to undertake the mission with Master Anselm of Eastry, the rector of Eastry. To avoid further delay he asked that the bearer of his letter might bring back an answer from the bishop and from Master Hamo.

On December 12 an order was sent from the king to the warden of the Cinque Ports to permit Master Anselm of Eastry and Master Hamo of Gatton [*sic*] to pass from the

[1] Madox, *Hist. of the Exchequer* (ed. 1769), i. 309, n. r.

[2] Lyndwood, *Provinciale, Constitutiones Legatinae*, p. 121. This was a grievance of many years' standing ; *cf.* Archbishop Kilwardby's letter, dated 1277, entered in *Episc. Reg. of Winchester, Pontissara*, pp. 356, 357.

[3] *Reg. Cant., Winchelsey*, p. 200.

[4] *Reg. Heref., Swinfield*, pp. 5, 41, 66.

[5] *Reg. Worc., Giffard* (Worcestershire Hist. Soc.), p. 489.

[6] *Reg. Cant., Winchelsey*, p. 200.

port of Dover to ports beyond the seas with their servants and things.[1] They took with them letters to ten cardinals, asking them for help and advice so that their business concerning the petition might have a quick and happy ending.[2] For over six months there is no record of the messengers except that on April 1, 1298, Hamo of Gateley was at Rome and secured a dispensation from the pope to hold a second benefice with cure of souls.[3] On July 24, the archbishop wrote to the two envoys to tell them that as they were in need of more money he had placed £100 to their credit with the Florentine merchants of the firm of the Pulci and Rembertini, which would be paid to them for their expenses.[4] The money for the mission was raised by the levy of a halfpenny in the mark on the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, and as the archbishop had not received it, he was obliged to borrow. He told them that he was amazed at their extravagant expenditure, and remonstrated seriously with them for quarrelling with each other. So long as their expenses were moderate he would see that they were not short of money. Before the end of 1298 Hamo of Gateley was back in England, and on January 10, 1299, the archbishop wrote to the bishop of Norwich asking him to persuade Hamo to return to the curia.[5] After taking counsel with the bishops and clergy of the province it had been decided to send presents to the pope, cardinals, officials, and servants of the curia to expedite the business, and it was urgent that Hamo, who had promoted it before the pope and cardinals, should now bring it to a successful conclusion. Moreover, there was a rumour that Anselm of Eastry was in despair at the curia and he might return, because he was ignorant of the remedy which was near at hand. In a letter of the same date from his palace at Mayfield, the archbishop urged Hamo to visit him as soon as possible to receive further instructions.[6] On January 24 he wrote to Anselm of Eastry to tell him that he had appointed Master Reginald of St. Albans

[1] *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1296–1302, p. 142
[2] Reg. Cant., Winchelsey, fo. 309v.
[3] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i 575.
[4] Reg. Cant., Winchelsey, fo. 311.
[5] *Reg. Cant., Winchelsey*, p. 300.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 302.

as his proctor at the curia, and telling him not to withdraw until he had received the archbishop's commands.[1]

Apparently Hamo refused to return to the curia, and there was a further delay. On April 1 the archbishop wrote from Gillingham to Boniface VIII to offer him a 'small and insignificant' present of two thousand marks from the bishops and clergy of the province of Canterbury,[2] and to Neapolio, cardinal deacon of St. Adrian, telling him that Master William of Pickering and Master Reginald of St. Albans would bring him a trifling gift of thirty marks.[3] He besought him to help them in bringing the business of their church to a favourable conclusion. From an entry in the margin of the register it appears that nine other cardinals were offered the same amount, all that the church could afford in its time of tribulation. But Boniface VIII was in desperate financial straits, and no petition which would reduce the revenues of the papal exchequer had any prospect of success. There is no record of any answer, but it is certain that William of Pickering and Reginald of St. Albans effected no more than Hamo of Gateley and Anselm of Eastry. The evidence is clear that the clergy continued to suffer under the burdens from which they had sought for some relief. The Taxation of Pope Nicholas remained the assessment for future tenths and other levies. The papal collectors pressed for payment of the procurations, and as late as 1309 William de Testa was still demanding the arrears due to the cardinals of Albano and Palestrina. His mandate to the bishop of Salisbury is entered in the register of Simon of Ghent, who gave instructions to his archdeacons and the dean of Salisbury to find out the names of the collectors and summon them to bring all their documents to Sherborne on October 13.[4]

Those portions of the accounts of the collectors in the diocese of Salisbury which are entered in the register of Bishop Simon of Ghent shew that the procurations had eventually been paid almost in full.[5] The abbot of Abingdon, collector for the first and second years in the archdeaconries

[1] Reg. Cant., Winchelsey, fo. 314v. [2] Ibid. fos. 314v, 315.
[3] Ibid. fo. 315.
[4] *Reg. Salisbury, Simon de Gandavo*, pp. 335–337.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 338–340.

of Berkshire and Wiltshire, got in all but £2 13*s.* 0*d.* The abbot of Milton, collector for the first year in the archdeaconries of Dorset and Sarum, got in the full amount of £56 and paid £52 to Geoffrey of Vezano, being allowed £4 for the cost of collection. When an inquiry into the amount of arrears was held in 1309 by order of William de Testa, the abbot of Sherborne stated that he was collector for the third year in the archdeaconries of Dorset and Sarum. The total amount due at 3*d.* in the mark was £151 4*s.* 3*d.* From this total allowances of £28 11*s.* 8½*d.* had been deducted on certain names, probably those of hospitals and poor nunneries, and he had been granted the further sum of £6 10*s.* 4½*d.* for his expenses. He held receipts from Geoffrey of Vezano for £104 13*s.* 4*d.*, and from William de Testa for £1 15*s.* 10*d.*, and he had a small sum in hand, so the amount outstanding was £8 12*s.* 1¾*d.* The debtors had been excommunicated, and he gave a list of them.

Within the next twenty years the clergy were three times required to pay procurations to cardinals. In 1307, when Clement V sent Peter of Spain, cardinal bishop of Sabina, to arrange a general pacification and to assist in settling the marriage between Edward, prince of Wales, and Isabella of France, Peter demanded a procuration of twelve marks from all ecclesiastical persons, with the reservation that those who were too poor to find this sum should pay at the rate of fourpence in the mark, and in a later letter these were defined as monasteries and others whose revenues were less than £100 a year and over £4 a year according to the Taxation of Pope Nicholas.[1] In 1312, when two other cardinals, Arnold, bishop of Albano, and Arnold of St. Prisca, were sent on a mission to foster peace in the realm, they levied a procuration of twelve marks on all ecclesiastical persons whose revenues were assessed at over £200 a year, and at threepence in the mark for others.[2] Archbishop Winchelsey was instructed to collect this procuration from his province within twenty-one days. He had been in exile when Cardinal Peter of Spain was in England in 1307. He now sent a letter by his clerk, Henry of Derby, which was

[1] *Reg. Salisbury, Simon de Gandavo*, pp. 241–247, 253–261.
[2] Reg. Salisbury, Simon de Gandavo, fos. 153–155.

delivered to the cardinals in London on May 11, in which he raised several doubtful points, and protested that in the papal bull authorizing the levy of procurations there was no mention of rectors, asserting that on the occasion of previous levies it was never seen, heard, or accustomed that 'simple rectors' should pay.[1] His vigorous attempt to protect the parish clergy of his province from this imposition was one of his last acts, for he died on May 11. In a subsequent letter to the bishop of Salisbury, commanding him to collect the procurations in his diocese, the cardinals explained that rectors were included under ecclesiastical persons, and that the archbishop's statement concerning them was contrary to the truth as they had ascertained from the registers of other cardinal legates.[2]

In 1317, when Gaucelin, cardinal of SS. Marcellinus and Peter, and Luke, cardinal of St. Mary's in Via Lata, were sent to negotiate between Edward II and Robert Bruce, they demanded a procuration at the highest possible rate, fourpence in the mark from all.[3] Apparently they failed to get more than twelve marks on the higher incomes, for the prior of Canterbury reported to the archbishop in 1338 that after searching the records he had ascertained that twelve marks had been paid.[4]

There is no record that the pope appointed anyone in England to absolve the clergy who had incurred excommunication by contributing to the subsidy in fear and thus disregarded the bull *Clericis laicos*. Moreover, in 1299 the archbishop's registrar noted several instances of absolutions which the papal penitentiary at Rome had empowered him to grant after taking a caution that the offenders, who had erred not through contempt of the keys but in ignorance, would obey the mandates of the church and after imposing a salutary penance.[5] The prior and chapter of Worcester were suspended from orders for fifteen days and were bound individually to say five psalters and five masses for the reformation of the universal church. The abbot of Hayles

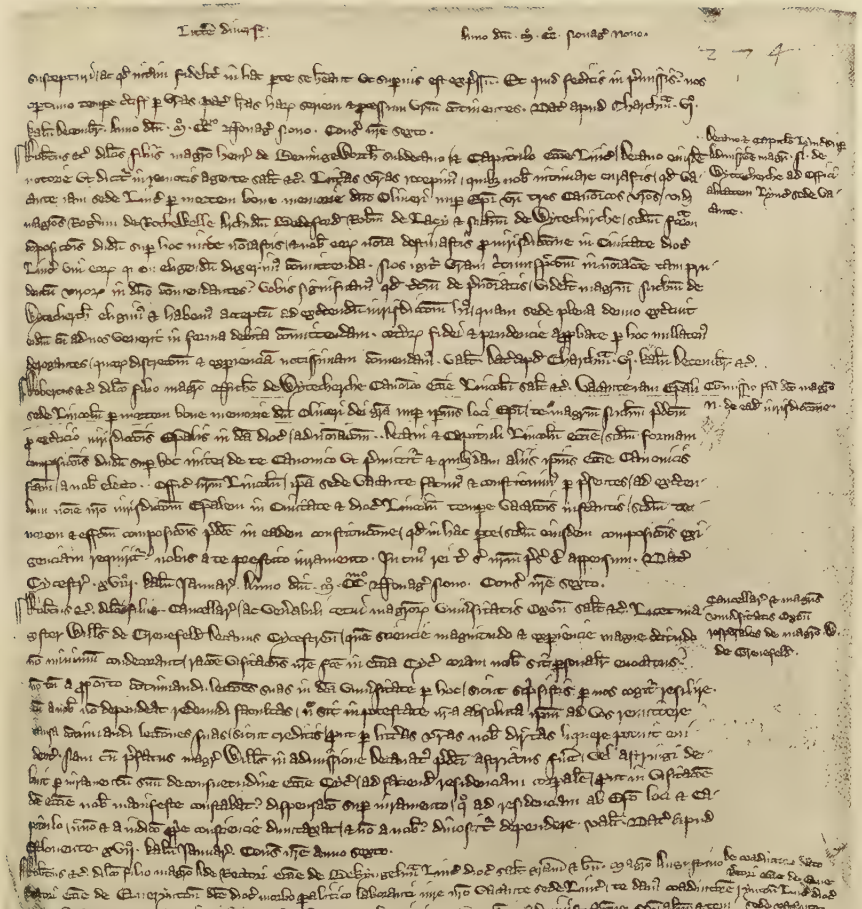
[1] Reg. Salisbury, Simon de Gandavo, fo. 155.
[2] Ibid. fo. 155.
[3] *Reg. Carlisle, Halton*, ii 146–151 ; *cf.* Reg. Cant., Reynolds, fo. 240.
[4] *Literae Cantuarienses*, ed. Sheppard, ii 174, 175.
[5] *Reg. Cant., Winchelsey*, pp. 371, 375.

was suspended for several days and ordered to feed forty poor persons. It is probable that in addition to the abbots of Walden, Barlings, and Basingwerk, and the rector of Bale in the diocese of Norwich, there were numerous other instances which were not entered. Another instance was noted in the register of John de Pontissara, bishop of Winchester; others occur in 1303 and 1306 in the register of William Gainsborough, bishop of Worcester.[1]

In spite of the efforts of successive papal collectors, the popes did not receive more than the fixed amount for Peter's pence.[2] In 1306 the papal collector, William de Testa, appointed commissaries to secure the collection of first-fruits and all other dues of the papacy,[3] whose inquisitorial demands stirred the resentment of the laity as well as of the clergy, and at the parliament of Carlisle in 1307 a petition from lords and commons was presented against papal oppression; it was urged that a fixed sum had been paid for Peter's pence from time immemorial, and that the present unreasonable exactions would be to the grave loss of the churches and of the whole nation.[4]

It has been observed that if the several articles of this petition presented at Carlisle had been drafted into a statute, part of it would have anticipated the Statute of Premunire, but on the arrival of Peter of Spain, cardinal bishop of Sabina, Edward I judged it impolitic to provoke a contest with the papacy.[5]

[1] *Reg. Winchester, Pontissara*, p. 106; *Reg. Worc., Gainsborough* (Worcestershire Hist. Soc.), pp. 31, 145, 146.
[2] *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.* (New Series), xv 185.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 185; J. M. Wilson, *The Worcester Liber Albus*, pp. 70–73.
[4] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii 163; *Rot. Parl.* i 207, 217–223.
[5] T. F. Tout, *The Political History of England*, 1216–1377, pp. 230, 231.



XIII

AN ECCLESIASTICAL TENTH FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE IN 1298

When parliament met in London on October 6, 1297, during the king's absence in Flanders, Prince Edward acted on the advice of the council and granted the demands of the earls of Hereford and Norfolk; he agreed to the new articles and confirmed the charters on October 10.[1] The earl of Surrey had arrived in London with the news that a Scottish army had invaded Northumberland.[2] Prince Edward and the council discussed the situation with Archbishop Winchelsey and some of the bishops, and begged for their advice and help.[3] The archbishop of York, who was then in London, afterwards reported to the bishop of Carlisle that the king wished the provinces of York and Canterbury to grant a subsidy in common, but it was decided that there should be a convocation of each province.[4] Archbishop Winchelsey took the first step. On October 15 he issued a summons for a meeting of convocation of Canterbury in the New Temple on November 20 to the bishops, priors, and deans of cathedral churches, abbots and priors of monasteries, one proctor for the chapter of each cathedral church, two proctors representing the clergy in each English diocese, and one proctor for the clergy of each Welsh diocese.[5] He desired the bishops to call their diocesan councils together to discuss ways and means of helping the country, so that proctors and others should be fully

[1] Stubbs, *Constitutional History* (ed. 1887), ii 146, 147.

[2] *Register of Archbishop Winchelsey*, ed. Rose Graham, p. 198 (Canterbury and York Society); Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 228, 229.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Registers of John le Romeyn and Henry of Newark*, ed. W. Brown, ii 248 (Surtees Society); *cf.* Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 235.

[5] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 198; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 228, 229.

instructed before the convocation met. On October 23, when Archbishop Henry of Newark was at Buntingford in Hertfordshire, on his way to the north, he issued a summons for a meeting of convocation at York on November 29.

Meanwhile the news grew worse. According to Walter of Hemingborough, canon of Guisborough,[1] the Scots ravaged and burnt the countryside between Newcastle and Carlisle from October 18 to November 18, the religious fled from their monasteries, the parish priests and most of the people were refugees, for those who stayed were put to the sword.

The convocation of Canterbury agreed to give a tenth for the defence of the church and the kingdom,[2] but while the archbishop, the bishops, cathedral chapters, and monasteries decided to pay on the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, the contribution from the parochial clergy was to be levied on the Norwich Taxation of 1254, a much lower assessment which in many cases reduced the amount to less than one half.[3] It was settled that each bishop should be responsible for collecting the money in his own diocese and should keep it until he received a mandate from the archbishop; one moiety was to be paid before January 13, and the second before March 16.[4] On December 5 Winchelsey appointed the treasurer of the New Temple and the rector of Lambeth to receive the money from the bishops and keep it at the New Temple, to give letters of acquittance and to make payments.[5] No layman was to interfere in the collection or distribution of this voluntary gift.[6] On December 4 the archbishop gave a commission to the collectors in his own diocese and in the exempt deaneries which were in his peculiar jurisdiction, in which they were instructed to demand the money on pain of excommunication and of sequestration of property.[7] After an anxious discussion

[1] *Chronicon*, ed. H. C. Hamilton, ii 141, 142 (English Historical Society).
[2] Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 308; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 232.
[3] *The Norwich Taxation of 1254 for the Diocese of Norwich collated with the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1291*, ed. W. Hudson, Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, xvii 46–157; *cf.* the Norwich Taxation for the diocese of Ely, *Ecclesie de Bernewelle Liber Memorandorum*, ed. J. Willis Clark, pp. 191–199; *cf.* W. E. Lunt, *The Valuation of Norwich*, 1926.
[4] *Reg. Winchelsey*, pp. 211, 212; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 229, 230.
[5] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 212; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 230.
[6] Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 308; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 232.
[7] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 211; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 229, 230.

with the council he entered into a contract with the earl of Surrey and others to pay the wages of 500 horse and for this purpose to find nearly £4000 in twelve days and the same amount before March 16.[1] In spite of the difficulties of the season and of the roads in winter it was decided to send a large army under the earl of Surrey to Newcastle. When the convocation of the northern province met at York on November 29 Archbishop Henry of Newark persuaded them to make a grant of a fifth, and as the clergy had not enough money for this heavy tax, they agreed to supply cattle and other necessaries for the maintenance of the army to protect them against the Scots.[2] The chapters of York, Ripon, Southwell, and Beverley were required to send horses to Newcastle and there was a levy of horses in the archdeaconries of Nottingham and Richmond.[3] The prior of Guisborough paid part of the fifth in corn.[4]

In a letter to the bishop of Lincoln dated December 4, Archbishop Winchelsey told him that the king's treasury was empty, and that he and the bishops then in London had made inquiries about money and raised loans from different persons to pay the first instalment to the earls.[5] He urged the bishop to ask the heads of the richer monasteries and the richer clergy of his diocese to pay the whole of the tenth at once, and if necessary to summon them to a special assembly for the purpose, and to send their contribution with the whole amount due from himself to the New Temple without waiting for the first and second terms on which the instalments fell due. Writing from his manor house at Lyminge on January 9, 1298, Winchelsey begged the bishop of Durham to send him news of the war; it was reported that the Scots had retired from Newcastle and also that the English army was not yet on its way, at which he marvelled, for at the end of November it had been settled that it should set out with all possible speed.[6] He told the bishop how he had done his utmost to reconcile the divisions between parties,

[1] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 213; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 230; *cf.* J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward*, i 285.
[2] *Registers of John le Romeyn and Henry of Newark*, ii 316, 317.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 212, 237, 269. [4] *Ibid.* p. 294.
[5] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 213; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 230.
[6] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 218; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 231.

and yet in spite of all his efforts certain sons of Belial put an evil interpretation on his acts and wrote against him to the king.

The bishops met with some obstruction in collecting the money in their dioceses. Winchelsey told the bishops of Norwich [1] and Exeter [2] that alien priories must contribute to this tenth, although they now paid an annual levy to the king; as to the exempt Orders, their representatives had attended convocation and agreed to contribute in their dioceses, and so for this purpose they became answerable to the bishops who were charged with the collection of the tenth; if, however, the Templars and Hospitallers had paid a ninth with the laity on their temporalities, they need only pay the ecclesiastical tenth on their spiritualities. He wrote to the bishop of Norwich that, although poor nunneries were exempt from taxation for the crusades, they must contribute to national defence, but the bishop might use his discretion in reducing the amount.[3] 'Send all you have in hand under safe conduct to London,' he concluded, 'and I leave it to your conscience to charge the just sum for the cost of collection.'

On February 26 the archbishop issued a circular letter from Wingham to the bishops of his province reminding them that the second instalment for the wages of the horse was to be paid on March 16 either in Scotland or on the confines of that kingdom. To pay the earls was a question of honour for them as well as for him, and he urged them to send the money to the New Temple as soon as possible.[4] The letter reached the bishop of Salisbury at Ramsbury on March 4, and on the 5th he sent letters to the collectors in the archdeaconries of Wilts, Dorset, and Sarum, instructing them to get in arrears and to demand payment of the second instalment at once on pain of interdict and excommunication.[5]

On February 28 the archbishop instructed the rector of

[1] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 229.
[2] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 232; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 235.
[3] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 230.
[4] *Register of Simon de Gandavo*, ed. C. Flower, pp. 3, 4 (Canterbury and York Society).
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 3–5.

Aldington to go to Newcastle and pay the second instalment in the following sums : [1]

	£	s.	d.			
To the Earl of Surrey .	769	3	4	for	100	barbed horse
,, Earl Marshall .	999	18	4	,,	130	,,
,, Earl of Gloucester .	769	3	4	,,	100	,,
,, Earl of Hereford .	692	5	0	,,	90	,,
,, Earl of Warwick .	230	15	0	,,	30	,,
To Henry Percy . .	384	11	0	,,	50	,,

It appears that the king's treasurer, Walter Langton, bishop of Lichfield, intercepted the rector of Aldington, and told him to pay the money due to the earl of Surrey in London, for on March 19 Winchelsey remonstrated with Langton ; he was also, he said, greatly troubled to hear from the rector of Aldington that there was a deficit of a thousand marks, although he had received all the money in the New Temple and a contribution paid direct by the bishop of Lincoln.[2]

'This deficit wearies me immensely,' he wrote, 'both on account of the promise which we do not keep and on account of the opinion of the earls, who will think us deceivers or at least negligent beyond all measure and that they who have taken so great a burden on themselves, relying on our assurance, have been deluded. This would never have happened if your brethren had not gone against the agreement for the first instalment from their dioceses.'

He asked the bishop to provide his steward, Simon de Greylly, the bearer of the letter, with a safe-conduct to take the rest of the money to the earls at Newcastle, and at the same time he wrote to the treasurer of the New Temple and the rector of Lambeth to pay all the money in hand to Simon, and if they had not enough to take up loans for the full amount.[3] He bade them beware at their peril from making any further payment to the earls or Henry Percy without his mandate, or to pay up the deficit due to the earl of Surrey until they had further instructions. The rector of Aldington was to wait at Newcastle for the money.[4] In an undated letter to the bishop of London, Winchelsey mentioned his debts and the loans which he had been forced to make

[1] *Reg. Winchelsey*, pp. 238, 239 ; cf. *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ed. Bain, ii 267.
[2] *Reg. Winchelsey*, pp. 243, 244. [3] *Ibid.* p. 244. [4] *Ibid.* p. 245.

to pay the money promised to the earls, whereas none of the bishops had taken up any loans to help him.[1] He commanded the bishop to collect the rest of the money and pay it over by April 6; on the first law-day after April 25 he must appear either in person or by proxy to render a full account of the proceeds of the tax.

On April 22 the archbishop appointed five commissioners, of whom three should be a quorum, to hear the accounts of the collection of the tenth from the bishops of the province on the law-days nearest to April 25 and May 4, 1298.[2] But none of the bishops were then able to render full accounts, and when the archbishop issued a summons for a meeting of convocation on the second law-day after November 2, 1299, he also fixed that day for the final presentment by the bishops of their accounts for the collection of this tenth in their dioceses, when they must pay over the balance and hand in a list of defaulters.[3]

The final account for the tenth from the diocese of Canterbury had been presented by the collectors to the archbishop at Lambeth on March 18, 1299.[4] The total amount was £786 13*s.* 0¼*d.*; the collectors shewed receipts from the treasurer of the New Temple for £666 13*s.* 4*d.*, and £66 13*s.* 4*d.*, paid for him to the papal agent, Geoffrey of Vezano. The cost of collection was £19 4*s.* 5*d.*, so the collectors had in hand £34 1*s.* 11¼*d.*, which they then paid over to the archbishop. There is no entry in Winchelsey's register of other dioceses, nor of the complete total. When the collectors rendered the account for the diocese of Salisbury, they paid into the treasury at the New Temple £968 16*s.* 5¼*d.*; later on the bishop sent up £13 6*s.* 8*d.*[5] However, on February 15, 1303, Winchelsey wrote to demand the payment of arrears, amounting to £75 16*s.* 10*d.*, and on April 18 the bishop replied that he was sending £9 4*s.* 8*d.*, which he had collected with great difficulty: some of the arrears were due from religious houses outside the diocese which were endowed with pensions and portions on which a tenth had not been levied before; and he submitted that mistakes had

[1] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 245. [2] *Ibid.* p. 250.
[3] Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 131v; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 253, 254.
[4] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 250.
[5] *Register of Simon de Gandavo*, p. 119.

been made in the rendering of the account, and that through some error the collectors in his diocese had demanded payment on the assessment known as the Taxation of Pope Nicholas from spiritualities as well as temporalities, which was not according to the terms of the grant.[1]

The disposal of the balance of this ecclesiastical tenth is obscure. Edward I sent messengers to the convocation, which met at the New Temple on June 25, 1298, to ask for the rest for the defence of the kingdom and the church.[2] Convocation assented that the money should be granted for this purpose in time of peril, but maintained that they could not now agree to it without the consent of the pope.[3] At the same time they received his request that prayers should be offered throughout the kingdom for his safety and success in his war against the Scots.[4] The balance remained in the possession of the treasurers at the New Temple, and on January 10, 1299 they received a mandate from the archbishop to pay £1833 6*s.* 8*d.* to Italian merchants for the use of the messengers who had been sent to prosecute some business for the province of Canterbury at the papal curia.[5]

[1] *Register of Simon de Gandavo*, pp. 73, 74, 117–119.
[2] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 261 ; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 236.
[3] *Reg. Winchelsey*, pp. 260–262 ; Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 310v ; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 237.
[4] *Register of Simon de Gandavo*, pp. 9, 10.
[5] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 302.

XIV

AN INTERDICT ON DOVER, 1298–1299

On March 1, 1298, Robert Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, put the mayor, community and town of Dover under an interdict, which was not removed until October 6, 1299. This interdict has not been recorded in any history of Dover, and it is probable that the only documents relating to it are in the archbishop's register.

Robert Winchelsey was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury in 1294. In the early years of his primacy he was involved in the constitutional struggle with Edward I about the taxation of the clergy and the bull of Boniface VIII, *Clericis Laicos*. He was reconciled to the king in July 1297, and at the beginning of 1298 he proposed to make a visitation of his diocese. In January he sent Master William Archer, rector of Saltwood, and Robert de Glaston, rector of Cheriton, to Dover, with a commission to cite certain representative citizens of the town to appear before the archbishop on a certain date, at a suitable place within the rural deanery of Dover, and to give evidence about any matters requiring correction and reform.[1]

The citation to send representative citizens to a visitation outside the town was resented, and the arrival of the two rectors in Dover provoked an extraordinary disturbance. They were surrounded at once by 'a crowd of sons of Belial,' who abused them and showered blows on them, and shewed special hostility to the rector of Cheriton. They hustled him away from his companion, dragged him down to the sea and snatched away the archbishop's letter, which he carried inside his gloves, and struck him repeatedly with open hands and clenched fists. The mayor stood on

[1] *Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury, Winchelsey*, p. 222.

the seashore looking on, and reproached and mocked him in the presence of all the people; at last he fled from his persecutors in terror that worse things would happen to him. On January 24 the archbishop was at Dover, and the next day he issued a mandate to the rural dean of Dover to publish forthwith in all the churches of the deanery, at Mass on Sundays and festivals, the excommunication of all persons who had taken part in the assault on the rectors of Saltwood and Cheriton. He was instructed to inquire their names, and to excommunicate by name John at Sea, the mayor, John at Hall the elder, Thomas Dyer, Nicholas Archer, and John of Sturmouth, who were guilty of contumacy, because they had not appeared at the visitation, and to report to the archbishop before February 10. The men mentioned by name were the leading citizens of the town, whose names appear together as witnesses in documents among the records of Dover.[1]

It is clear that the rural dean of Dover informed the archbishop that the mayor and commonalty were directly responsible for the assault, as the common horn had been blown to assemble all the citizens, and also that the offenders were aware of the excommunication, but treated it with contempt. It was not possible to deliver a citation to the mayor and community in Dover without risk of bodily injury, so on February 14 the archbishop sent a mandate to the vicar of St. Margaret at Cliffe, about three miles from the town, instructing him to read in his church on the next Sunday at Mass a public citation to the mayor and community of Dover to appear before the archbishop, the mayor in person or by proxy, with a representative of the community, on the next law-day after the feast of St. Matthias, February 24, to shew cause why the archbishop should not lay an interdict on them and their town.[2] In the formal citation to the mayor and community, the archbishop notified them that he should proceed against them without delay, whether their proctors were present or absent. The mayor and community of Dover ignored the citation, and after taking the advice of counsel, the

[1] *Dover Charters and Other Records*, ed. S. P. H. Statham, pp. 30–39.
[2] *Reg. Winchelsey*, pp. 225–229.

archbishop put the mayor, community and town of Dover under an interdict, with the notable exception of Dover Castle, which might have involved him in a conflict with the crown.[1] The churches were to be closed, no sacraments were permitted, except the baptism of infants and penance of the dying, and no bodies might be buried in consecrated ground.

A second exception was the Benedictine priory of St. Martin at Dover, for, in accordance with the bull granted by Lucius III in 1182 and confirmed by Celestine III in 1197, the priory church was exempt from a general interdict.[2] Writing from Eastry on March 1, the archbishop notified the prior and convent of St. Martin that he had put the mayor, community and town of Dover under an interdict from which he excepted them, their monastery and household, on condition that they excluded persons under sentence of excommunication or interdict, that no bells were rung, the doors of the church were kept closed, and that they said the services in a low voice so that no sound was heard outside the building.[3] He reminded the prior and convent that they were forbidden to administer any sacrament to other persons, except baptism of infants and penance of the dying, or to accept bodies for burial. He commanded them to notify him within sixteen days that they were observing these instructions on every point.

On March 12 the archbishop sent a mandate to the official of the archdeacon of Canterbury to publish the interdict on Sundays and festivals at Mass in every church of the diocese and to prohibit all rectors, vicars and parish priests from ringing the bells or celebrating mass in the presence of any inhabitant of Dover.[4] The official was also instructed to notify every religious community in the diocese of this prohibition, to inquire about any violation of the interdict, and report it to the archbishop.

In accordance with the interdict, the mayor and inhabitants of Dover were excluded from the church of St. Mary in the Castle, the priory church of St. Martin,

[1] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 237.
[2] *Cartulary of Dover Priory*, fo. 4^{v} (Lambeth Palace Library).
[3] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 237.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 240.

and every parish church and monastery in the diocese outside Dover. In the town there were the parish churches of St. Peter, St. James, St. Mary, and St. Martin-le-Grand, which combined under one roof the churches of three distinct parishes and was served by an archpriest and two rectors at the altars of St. Nicholas and St. John the Baptist.[1] St. Peter's may be called the corporation church in the Middle Ages. When the mayor was elected on the feast of the Nativity of our Lady, September 8, the common horn was sounded in fourteen places in the town for the common assembly in the church of St. Peter, and the box containing the records and seal was brought from the church of St. Martin-le-Grand.[2] The archpriest and the five rectors observed the interdict, but in spite of them services were held in St. Peter's, and, perhaps, in other churches. Four chaplains, Richard Domine, William Gogel, William le Graunt, and John Michel, Robert, clerk of St. Peter's, and three other clerks, John Baker, Henry Penyfader, and Walter Plot, knowingly and wilfully violated the interdict by saying the services in a loud voice, ringing the bells, and burying the dead in some of the churchyards.[3]

There is no reference to the interdict in any public record. On May 20, 1299, Edward I appointed a firm of merchants of Lucca to keep a table at Dover for changing the money of persons coming into the realm or going out.[4] He was at Dover Castle from June 4 to June 11 ;[5] and on July 20 he appointed Robert de Burghersh to the custody of Dover and the Cinque Ports, with £300 a year for the maintenance of himself, a chaplain, servants, watchman and one carpenter dwelling within the castle, and their robes.[6]

The mayor and community ignored the interdict for a year and a half. John at Sea was re-elected mayor on September 8, 1299, and soon afterwards it was decided

[1] S. P. H. Statham, *History of the Castle, Town and Port of Dover*, pp. 176–179, 197–199, 203–206.
[2] J. A. Barrington Jones, *Annals of Dover*, pp. 6, 97 ; *cf.* Statham, *op. cit.* p. 206.
[3] Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 89.
[4] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292–1301, p. 417.
[5] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1296–1302, pp. 252, 253.
[6] *Cal. Pat Rolls*, 1292–1301, p. 427.

to approach the archbishop. In a document dated September 30, and sealed with the seal of the town, the mayor and community appointed John at Hall the elder and Nicholas Archer as proctors to ask for release from the sentence of excommunication and from the interdict on the town and its inhabitants, and to receive the penance inflicted by the archbishop.[1] They appeared before him on October 1 and made a solemn promise to submit to discipline. He absolved John at Hall, Thomas Dyer, Nicholas Archer, and John of Sturmouth from the sentence of excommunication, but before raising the interdict he required time for deliberation, and told the proctors to return on October 5, when he again put them off until the next day.[2] On October 6, in the parish church of Chartham, three miles south-west of Canterbury, the archbishop relaxed the interdict on certain conditions.[3] The mayor and community were commanded to send four or five trustworthy persons to the archbishop's visitation on November 3 at Newington, three miles west of Folkestone, and therefore to obey a mandate of the same nature as the one which provoked the disturbance in January 1298. They were bound to pay compensation to Robert de Glaston, rector of Cheriton, for injuries done to him, £13 13*s.* 4*d.*; to the archpriest of St. Martin-le-Grand, £1 13*s.* 4*d.*; to the other two rectors in the same church, £10, to be divided equally; to the rector of St. Peter's, £2 13*s.* 4*d.*; to the rector of St. James's, £2; to the rector of St. Mary's, £2 13*s.* 4*d.* These payments were to be made to the rectors in the cathedral church of Canterbury on the next feast of the Purification, February 1300. On Michaelmas Day, 1300, and again in 1301, the mayor and community were to make two payments of £66 13*s.* 4*d.* in the archbishop's palace at Canterbury, and the money was to be set aside for pious uses of a permanent character for a perpetual remembrance.

The archbishop had a right to insist that all bodies buried in consecrated ground during the interdict should be exhumed. He announced his intention of acting with

[1] Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 88.
[2] Ibid. fo. 88.
[3] Ibid. fos. 88–89v.

kindness and consideration ; the bodies of innocent persons, who had taken no part in the assault on the rectors of Saltwood and Cheriton, were to be left undisturbed, but sculptured stones and other memorials set over them were to be removed immediately and kept apart for ever ; mounds over graves were to be levelled by the nearest relations of the dead, and the earth for a foot in depth below the surface was to be dug out and left piled immediately round the graves, until the archbishop ordered otherwise in consideration of the devotion of the survivors. He reserved the question of the exhumation of the bodies of those persons who were directly responsible for the interdict. He excommunicated the four chaplains and four clerks who had knowingly and maliciously violated the interdict, and forbade the mayor and community to assist, protect, or defend them in any way. The mayor and community were bound to accept the whole of the archbishop's judgement on pain of a renewal of the interdict, and he reserved the right to interpret any clause of it and to increase or diminish the penalties.

The archbishop had gained the victory. The mayor and inhabitants of Dover had created a notable scandal, to no purpose, for they were obliged to send representatives outside the town to the visitation, and to pay in compensation and fines £174 6*s*. 8*d*., a sum amounting to about £3500 at the value of money before the war of 1914–1918.

There is no further reference in the archbishop's register to the interdict or to his relations with the mayor and citizens of Dover. He was at Dover a few weeks later, when he made a visitation of St. Martin's priory, and dated his injunctions to the monks in their chapter-house on November 24.[1]

[1] Reg. Winchelsey. fo. 76v.

XV

THE METROPOLITICAL VISITATION OF THE DIOCESE OF WORCESTER BY ARCHBISHOP WINCHELSEY IN 1301

The exercise of metropolitical jurisdiction by the archbishops of Canterbury is of great interest. Sometimes in the course of their visitations they came into conflict with the bishops, sometimes with the king, and these proceedings throw a flood of light on the history of the mediaeval Church.

The right of the archbishop to visit his province and to take procurations was clearly defined in the middle of the thirteenth century. The occasion was the quarrel between Archbishop Boniface of Savoy (1245–1270) and the bishops.[1] At the Council of Lyons in 1245, Innocent IV issued a decretal in which it was ordained that an archbishop, who wished to visit his province, must first visit his own diocese, beginning with the chapter of his cathedral church and proceeding to the visitation of greater and lesser churches and of the people as well as the clergy.[2] Then the archbishop might go to any diocese in his province and visit the bishop, the chapter, monasteries and churches, clergy and people, and take procurations in those places which he visited.

In virtue of this decretal, Archbishop Boniface attempted to visit his province in 1250. On his way to London he extorted a procuration of thirty marks from the cathedral monastery of Rochester ; in the judgement of Matthew Paris, the motive of the archbishop's visitation was greed for money, for he was as ignorant of monastic life as he was of letters.[3] The Augustinian canons of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, pleaded that they had an experienced and

[1] *Annales Monastici* (Annales de Burton), ed. Luard, i 300.

[2] *Corpus juris canonici*, ed. Friedberg, ii 1056 ; *Sexti Decretal.* lib. iii, tit. xx, cap. i ; *cf.* Mansi, *Concilia*, xxiii 669.

[3] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, v 119, 120.

careful bishop, and they would be guilty of contempt for him if they were visited by the archbishop.[1] Boniface excommunicated the bishop of London, the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, the prior and canons of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and of Holy Trinity, and in 1251 he went to Innocent IV at Lyons to ask for that full exercise of power over his province to which he was entitled,[2] and two years later he visited the dioceses of Rochester and London, though under certain limitations.[3] The bishops had sent proctors to plead their cause with the pope, and as, in the words of Matthew Paris, 'the Roman Curia is always ready to hear those who give,' they were provided with four thousand marks besides two thousand for their expenses.[4] They had a small measure of success, for Innocent IV sent a letter to the bishops of the province in which he set bounds to the archbishop's powers; he might visit the bishop, the chapter, the monasteries and collegiate churches of a diocese, but the parish churches were exempt, and no procuration was owed to the archbishop by their rectors and vicars.[5] The pope gave as a reason for this favour that in the province of Canterbury there had always been bishops who fulfilled their duties and visited their flocks, and therefore the parish churches hardly ever stood in need of visitation by the metropolitan. However, after the Council of Lyons in 1274, some of the parish churches came under his jurisdiction, because the duty of enforcing the decrees of the Council concerning pluralism and non-residence devolved upon him. When Archbishop Peckham visited the diocese of Worcester in 1283, pluralists and non-resident clergy were cited to appear before him with three, four, or more of their parishioners.[6]

In another decretal, dated July 12, 1252, the pope limited the procuration to the value of four marks for food and other necessaries,[7] and in a bull which appears with the title 'Qualiter metropolitanus teneatur facere visitationem

[1] Matthew Paris, *op. cit.* pp. 121, 122.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 138, 225, 302.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 366, 382.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 225; *Annales Monastici*, i 300.
[5] *Annales Monastici*, i 302, 303.
[6] *Registrum epistolarum J. Peckham, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. C. Trice Martin, ii 512–514. (Rolls Series.)
[7] *Annales Monastici*, i 300.

suam,' he laid down rules of procedure for a metropolitical visitation with the object of limiting the number of procurations as well as their value.[1]

At the Council of Lyons in 1274 Gregory X declaimed against the payment of procurations in money, and forbade that any procurations should be paid if churches were not visited; he hoped to make this provision effective by ruling that double the procuration in money should be returned to any church from which it was wrongfully exacted.[2] Boniface VIII modified this decree and sanctioned the payment of procurations in money, if it should be more convenient than to provide the food, but to avoid abuse no archbishop or bishop might receive more than one procuration a day, whether he visited one place or several.[3] It is clear that the objection to metropolitical visitation had its origin in the burden of procuration.

Archbishop Robert Winchelsey was a scholar and theologian of distinction. He had been rector of the University of Paris and chancellor of the University of Oxford. For ten years before his election to the See of Canterbury in 1293 he was archdeacon of Essex and canon of St. Paul's; he was constantly in residence and he visited his archdeaconry with zealous care. In his biography, written by a later monk of Canterbury, he is a very attractive character, kind, genial and generous, pure and ascetic in his own life, a patron of scholars and a benefactor of the poor.[4]

In 1301 the archbishop spent four months of the spring and summer travelling through the counties of Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, and south-west Warwickshire, which constituted the mediaeval diocese of Worcester.

It is possible to write the history of this visitation in some detail, and it shews another side of the life of the archbishop, who is generally remembered for his support of the papal claims, and his action in the constitutional struggle with Edward I.

[1] *Annales Monastici*, i 303.

[2] *Corpus juris Canonici*, ed. Friedberg, ii. 1057; *Sexti Decretal.* lib. iii, tit. xx, cap. ii.

[3] *Ibid.* cap. iii.

[4] *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton, i 11–17; cf. *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis*, ed. James Tait, pp. 63–68; cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, lxii 162.

The visitation illustrates many of the problems with which the Church was confronted at the end of the thirteenth century. Owing to wars in Wales, Scotland, and France, taxation was heavy and most unpopular. In spite of apparent wealth, the Church was often hampered by lack of means; there was no proper provision for the cost of administration in the diocese, the bishop found his revenues insufficient for the charges upon them, and he had to find benefices for his officials and staff of clerks to enable them to discharge their duties. Sometimes his administration was weak because it was so difficult to enforce the provisions of the Canon Law, appeals to the Court of Arches and the Papal Curia resulted in frequent and costly litigation. The monasteries were often in difficulties, and they had to meet the demand of the laity for unlimited hospitality, but they resented the bishop's attempts to exercise any control over their finances as undue interference with their liberties. Non-residence and pluralism were dangerous abuses, but when the bishop attempted to uproot them he had to face the opposition of the king and the pope, for neither had the means to reward their officials without giving them benefices and prebends.

The articles of inquiry which were used by the archbishop at his visitation are entered in MS. Cotton Galba, E iv,[1] a manuscript which was written in the cathedral monastery of Canterbury. Hitherto these articles have escaped notice. They are divided into several sections, articles to be put to the bishop and to other persons concerning every phase of his administration, articles to be put to the dean and chapter, to the abbot and regular canons of an Augustinian monastery, to the abbot and monks of a Benedictine house, to an abbess and her nuns. They were based mainly on the constitutions of the papal legates, Otho and Ottoboni, dated 1237 and 1268 respectively,[2] and they refer also to some of the provincial constitutions of the archbishops,[3] notably those of Peckham, as well as to the recent constitutions of Boniface VIII, *i.e.* to the Sext, the

[1] MS. Cotton Galba E iv, fos. 61–65.
[2] Lyndwood, *Provinciale, Constitutiones Legatinae*, pp. 3–155.
[3] *Ibid.*, *Constitutiones Provinciales*, pp. 1–33.

last papal law-book which was only issued on March 3, 1298.[1]

Some of the archbishop's proceedings in the diocese of Worcester are recorded in his own Register, in the library at Lambeth Palace, of which one-third has now been printed by the Canterbury and York Society. This source is supplemented by the Registers of the bishops of Worcester, Godfrey Giffard (1268–1302)[2] and William Gainsborough (1303–1307),[3] by the letter-book of the prior and convent of Worcester, known as the Liber Albus,[4] and by the Sede Vacante Register of the prior who was administrator of spiritualities for nine months between the death of Giffard and the consecration of his successor.[5] The Annals of Worcester Priory,[6] the records of other monasteries, and entries on the Patent and Close Rolls yield further details.

Bishop Godfrey Giffard had ruled the diocese of Worcester for over thirty-three years, and his Register bears witness to manifold activity. When he presided over the diocesan council which met at Hartlebury on December 26, 1299, one article on the long agenda was 'De visitacione archiepiscopi.'[7] It was uncertain which diocese the archbishop would visit next after Chichester, and there is a memorandum to inquire of the bishop's official, Master Robert of Gloucester, Doctor of Canon Law, whether it was expedient to hold a visitation before the visitation threatened by the archbishop.[8] The outcome was that Giffard made arrangements for a thorough visitation in 1300; some of the

[1] F. W. Maitland, *Canon Law in the Church of England*, p. 131, note 1.

[2] *Worc. Epis. Reg. Giffard*, ed. J. Willis Bund (Worcestershire Historical Society). All the entries are calendared but where necessary I have verified the documents. I wish to thank the Diocesan Registrar, C. Erle Clarke, Esq., for his courtesy in giving me access to the Register.

[3] *Worc. Epis. Reg. Gainsborough*, ed. J. Willis Bund (Worcestershire Historical Society).

[4] Dean and Chapter Library, Worcester Cathedral. I wish to thank Canon J. M. Wilson, D.D., for calling my attention to the Liber Albus and for his kindness in giving me access to this MS. and to the Sede Vacante Register. A calendar of documents in the *Liber Albus*, ed. J. M. Wilson (Worcestershire Historical Society), was published in 1919. A selection of the documents was translated with introductions by Canon Wilson, *The Worcester Liber Albus* (S.P.C.K. 1920).

[5] *Reg. Sede Vacante*, ed. J. Willis Bund (Worcestershire Historical Society).

[6] *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, iv 458–555.

[7] Reg. Giffard, fo. 442 and slip sewn to it.

[8] Ibid. fo. 447v.

work he undertook himself, but as he was an infirm old man and suffered much from gout in his feet, he appointed commissioners to visit the rest of the diocese, the monasteries, clergy, and people in their rural deaneries.[1]

In a letter to his official, probably written in June 1300, the bishop told him that some of his friends advised him to write to the archbishop, urging him to put off his visitation, and also to the dean of the Arches to further the request. He enclosed a draft and asked Master Robert whether, in his judgement, it would be better to send the letter or to be silent for a time.[2]

The archbishop believed that the cathedral monastery and the whole diocese of Worcester were in urgent need of reform, because the bishop was so infirm.[3] On February 10, 1301, he wrote to Giffard to inform him of his intention to visit him and his chapter, *i.e.* the prior and convent of Worcester, and the clergy and people of the city and diocese, and he bade him notify them that they should be ready to receive him.[4] It was a formal document based on similar intimations in the register of his predecessor, Archbishop Peckham,[5] but it was more explicit on the question of pluralism and those decrees of the Council of Lyons (1274) which were included in the Sext. Bishop Giffard sent a solemn protest to the archbishop dated 'in the month of March.'[6] He stated that the diocese had 'very recently' been visited by Winchelsey's predecessor, Peckham, although it was in fact eighteen years since that occasion, when it was noted in Giffard's register 'that the clergy and the people laudably commended the Archbishop concerning it.'[7] However, Giffard maintained that it was against the law for Winchelsey to come at a jump, 'per saltum,' to Worcester before he had completed the visitation of the province of Canterbury, which had been left unfinished by his predecessor. This was an entirely new gloss put by the bishop

[1] *Reg. Giffard*, ed. J. W. Bund, pp. 528–531.
[2] Reg. Giffard, fo. 447^{v}.
[3] Liber Albus, Letter to the Prior and convent inserted between fos. 82 and 83.
[4] Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 140^{v}; Giffard, fo. 460.
[5] *E.g. Reg. epistolarum J. Peckham*, ii 496, 497.
[6] Reg. Giffard, fo. 460^{v}.
[7] *Reg. epistolarum J. Peckham*, ii 748, 749.

and his advisers on the decretal in the Canon Law, which forbade an archbishop to visit one diocese for a second time before he had visited the rest of his province,[1] but which did not in any way bind his successor. Giffard continued that he was anxious to avoid the dangers of strife, especially as he was an old man, and so without prejudice to the rights of his cathedral church he was prepared to admit the archbishop to visit the diocese, although he was in no way bound to do so. At this point he dropped his conciliatory tone, and warned Winchelsey that if he or his commissaries took any proceedings against the law he should appeal to the Papal See and ask for the protection of the Court of Arches. He was stirred to resentment by the general rumour that the archbishop intended to act with severity against him and his flock, to punish them, to make statutes, and to deprive the clergy.

Giffard issued the summons to the clergy and people of the diocese to meet the archbishop at his visitation ; March 16 was the day appointed for the deanery of Worcester, and the place was the cathedral church. The prioress of the Cistercian nunnery of Whiston notified the archbishop that their chaplain, Hugh, would act as their proctor at the visitation, ' quia non convenit mulieres cetibus virorum se immiscere.' [2]

Winchelsey arrived at Worcester on March 14, and preached a sermon in the chapter house of the cathedral monastery. He rode on two or three miles to Wick, where the bishop lay ill ; he visited him in his chamber at midday,[3] and asked him many questions about his administration of his diocese, on what festivals and how often had he celebrated Mass or preached in his cathedral church, had the profession which he made at his consecration been read to him twice a year, had he kept the bishop's houses in repair, had he instituted pluralists or minors to benefices. The archbishop asked the same questions about the bishop as he went through the diocese, and the answers which he received will be discussed at a later stage.

[1] *Corpus juris canonici*, ed. Friedberg, ii. 1056 ; *Sexti Decretal.* lib. iii, tit. xx, cap. i.

[2] Liber Albus, fo. 9v, where the entry is wrongly dated 1302.

[3] *Annales Monastici*, iv 548, 549 ; Reg. Giffard, fo. 461.

He spent the night at Wick, and on the morrow he returned to Worcester with his household and stayed in the prior's lodging. He himself examined the prior, but his clerks put the articles of inquiry to the monks.[1] In 1290 Pope Nicholas IV had inhibited any archbishop of Canterbury from bringing secular persons into the chapter of the prior and monks of Worcester ;[2] when he came on a visitation he might only be accompanied by monks of their own or some other monastery. However, on this occasion the papal privilege was of no avail.

The first article of inquiry concerning the temporal affairs of a monastery was 'What is the annual income and what is the debt?' It was followed by others concerning the administration of the property and financial expedients : 'How many corrodies or pensions were sold, for what reason and by whose authority and to what use had the money been put?' Debt might prove a lack of financial knowledge and of practical capacity, but it might be due to wholly undeserved misfortunes ; it was impossible to get a loan from a banker at a moderate rate of interest, or to take out an insurance policy against damage by fire or flood, or other mischances.

There is no record of the answers of the prior and monks of Worcester, but much can be gleaned from scattered sources. In a letter to the archbishop, dated March 24, 1303, the prior wrote : 'When you visited us, you found us heavily in debt through no fault or fraud on our part, and in fact, in spite of all our care, we could scarcely find enough to eat and drink in the refectory, and you promised to help us.'[3] The monk who compiled the annals of the priory told how, in the previous twelve years, the monks continued to borrow money, and as the payment of a loan fell due another was contracted.[4] In 1289 an angry creditor, Richard de la Linde, who sold large quantities of corn to the monastery,[5] was placated with a monk's corrody for his

[1] *Annales Monastici*, iv 548, 549.
[2] *Cal. of Papal Registers*, i 514.
[3] Reg. Sede Vacante, fo. 17.
[4] *Annales Monastici*, iv 499–544.
[5] *Early Compotus Rolls of Worcester Priory*, ed. J. M. Wilson and C. Gordon (Worcestershire Historical Society), pp. 22, 23.

son Richard; in 1290 he got a bond for the payment of 100 marks within the next two years. Sixteen years later the debt owing to Richard de la Linde alone amounted to £304 6*s.* 8*d.*[1] On April 1, 1293, 'for many things improvidently undertaken and sealed,' the monks gave a bond for 110 marks to Master William of Ludford, to be repaid in three yearly instalments. In 1294 the king's taxes exceeded £150,[2] and four years later the total debt entered on the account roll of the cellarer and bursar amounted to £524 5*s.* 2¼*d.*[3]

For some years Bishop Giffard had attempted to check this financial mismanagement, but he had never been able to enforce his statutes.[4]

March 20, when the archbishop came to the monks in the chapter house, was, in the words of the Worcester monk, 'a day of tribulation and of chiding.' He deposed the sub-prior, precentor, chamberlain, third prior and pittancer and sacrist, and forbade the three last to go out of the precincts for a whole year.[5]

As was his custom in visiting other monasteries, the archbishop made certain temporary decrees for the better observance of the rule at Worcester. He sent his final injunctions from Canterbury on August 14, and he wrote in conclusion, 'You shall diligently keep them with other observances of your profession so that an honourable religious life, at present in exile, may be quickly recalled to the glory of your church.'[6] He commanded each and all of the monks to come to the services in church in time and to stay until they were over. This is a usual provision in monastic injunctions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There were so many accretions to the services, *e.g.* the office of the dead, the office of All Saints, the Hours of the Virgin and her Mass, that the monk was now bound to spend far more of his day in church than when the Rule of St. Benedict was first instituted.[7] In the later half of the

[1] Liber Albus, fo. 25.
[2] *Early Compotus Rolls*, pp. 24, 31.
[3] Roll C. 54. Dean and Chapter Library.
[4] *Reg. Giffard*, ed. J. W. Bund, pp. 380, 392; Thomas, *Survey of Worcester*, App., p. 57.
[5] *Annales Monastici*, iv 549.
[6] Reg. Winchelsey, fos. 82v–83v.
[7] Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, pp. 213–228.

thirteenth century the English Benedictines attempted to shorten their services. At the general chapter over which the abbots of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and Glastonbury presided in 1277, it was stated that the length of the office engendered dislike and extinguished devotion instead of kindling it, and that the duty of learning such long services by heart hindered many from entering the Order.[1] It was agreed that 'the psalm which is called the creed of Athanasius,' and was customarily said at Prime on all feasts of twelve lessons, should be omitted except on Sundays, that Vespers and Lauds of All Saints should be omitted, and that other changes should be made to shorten the services.[2] But opinion in the monasteries was not unanimous. The comment of the St. Alban's chronicler was that the Statute of Mortmain—De Religiosis—passed in the next Parliament was a judgement on the monks for their sloth and ingratitude. Archbishop Peckham and the bishops assembled in convocation forbade the use of this mutilated office, but met with opposition.[3] Bishop Giffard wrote to the prior of Worcester in 1278 warning him that he would not suffer divine worship to be diminished.[4] At the general chapter in 1300 the Benedictines decided to omit certain long prayers, and the monk wrote in the 'Worcester Annals,' 'I am uncertain if in the future the "Pater Noster" will seem superfluous.'[5]

Winchelsey recognized and approved of the custom of sending the monks away, after they had been bled, to one of the manors for the inside of a week, but he insisted that they must walk in procession on the following Sunday, and in copes on a special festival, on pain of losing their pittance of wine. He sanctioned a walk outside the monastery for change of air and scene, but each monk must always have a companion, and the younger brethren might not go out together.

At the general chapter of the Benedictines in 1300, a decree was passed that every head of a monastery could give dispensation to his monks to eat meat as it seemed

[1] MS. Bodley, 39, fo. 52v.
[2] *Gesta Abbatum monasterii S. Albani*, ed. Riley, i 464.
[3] *Reg. epistolarum J. Peckham*, i 150.
[4] Reg. Giffard, fo. 75.
[5] *Annales Monastici*, iv 547.

good to him.[1] According to the Rule of St. Benedict, its use was forbidden to all except the sick and weak, who were allowed to eat it in the infirmary but nowhere else.[2] In the course of the thirteenth century this observance was much relaxed, vegetables and cereals were far less varied and abundant than at the present time,[3] and the food problem was complicated by difficulties of transport and the appalling state of the roads in winter. Salt herrings, peas and beans, were a monotonous diet. No one had meat in the refectory, but it was provided in a smaller hall called the misericord,[4] and the head of a religious house, whether he was abbot or prior, invited some of the monks in turn to dine off meat in his lodging on certain days of the week. The cellarer and other obedientiaries sometimes provided meat in their offices, and so the number of monks in the refectory dwindled. Archbishop Winchelsey ordained that at Worcester no meat should be eaten in future except in the prior's lodging, the misericord, and the infirmary; and that two-thirds of the monks must always take their meals in the refectory where no one might have any more delicate food than the rest.[5] He forbade the monks to sit long over their wine or beer at dinner, supper, or any other time.

The prior told Winchelsey that they were hard put to it to find food and drink for the refectory. Monastic housekeeping was extravagant almost of necessity. The customary portions were large, *e.g.* a pound of bread a day and from a gallon to a gallon and a half of beer; but as the almoner claimed all that was left for distribution to the poor, it was difficult, if not impossible, to retrench by cutting down supplies. The obedientiaries were sometimes tempted to take some of the remains to feed the servants, but such conduct was always severely censured in monastic injunctions as being a fraud on the poor.

The claim of almost unlimited hospitality, which was sought by both rich and poor, was a heavy drain on the resources of the monasteries both in money and in kind.

[1] *Annales Monastici*, iv 547. [2] Rule of St. Benedict, cap. xxxvi.
[3] R. E. Prothero, *English Farming, Past and Present*, p. 6.
[4] *Register of Worcester Priory*, ed. W. H. Hale, 129b (Camden Society).
[5] It is significant that in 1334 Benedict XII reduced the number to a half in his statutes for the Benedictine Order, *cf.* Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii 609.

In 1275 it was provided by Edward I that without an invitation 'none shall come to eat or lodge in any house of religion of any other's foundation than of his own at the costs of the house.' The penalty was imprisonment and fine, and the religious were forbidden to receive any contrary to the Act, but in practice it was impossible to enforce it, especially as it was stated 'that the king intendeth not that the grace of hospitality shall be withdrawn from such as need.' [1]

The city of Worcester was on one of the main roads to Wales, for the bridge over the Severn was the only one between Gloucester and Bridgenorth.[2] When Archbishop Winchelsey arrived at the cathedral monastery, the guesthouse was full of people who had come without any invitation.[3] He ordained that guests should be honourably received in the guesthouse and given refreshment there alone, not in the offices of the obedientiaries as heretofore, to the scandal of the house and the defrauding of the almonry. He forbade men and women from the outside world to eat and drink with the monks in the refectory at great festivals, but he allowed the servants to entertain them modestly in a building in the courtyard outside the cloister. Owing to the rash inconsiderateness of secular persons, the archbishop ordered the doors of the cloister to be kept locked while the monks held their daily assembly in the chapter house. As lay folk were in the habit of bringing their money and documents to the obedientiaries for safe custody, he commanded that such deposits should only be made with the knowledge of the prior, and they must be placed in the common strong-room with a record of the date and the circumstances.

The archbishop found that at Worcester the bishop had the unusual and absolute right of choosing any one of the monks as sacrist; the sacrist accounted to him alone for his receipts and expenditure, and he went in and out of the monastery on the bishop's business without asking the prior's leave. At Canterbury, when the office of sacrist

[1] *Statutes of the Realm*, i 26–29; Gibson, *Codex juris ecclesiastici Anglicani*, ii 1170.
[2] Liber Albus, fo. 54.
[3] *Annales Monastici*, iv 548.

was vacant, the monks submitted three names to the archbishop and he chose one of them.[1] Winchelsey deposed Nicholas of Norton on the ground that he had wasted the goods of the sacrist's office, held private property, and was disobedient to the prior,[2] and he forbade him to go outside the precincts for a whole year. He held that the bishop was to blame, for it was with his connivance that the sacrist made presents and gifts and so wasted the income of the office on profane uses. In future the income attached to the sacrist's office was to be expended for the use of the monastery, and the sacrist was put under the same obligation to account to the prior and council of older monks as the other officials. However, when Winchelsey was in exile in 1307, his enemy Clement V revoked this ordinance, when he granted to William Gainsborough, bishop of Worcester, the right to appoint and remove the sacrist, who must render account to him alone.[3]

Giffard swore on oath that if, as the prior and convent stated, a letter had been sent to notify them that Nicholas of Norton was to hold the office of sacrist for life, it was due to his own overwork and the importunity of the sacrist's friends.[4] This was very probable, for when the archbishop visited him at Wick he found that Giffard was blind and unable to look after his property.[5] According to Giffard's Register, Nicholas was appointed sacrist for the third time in 1290 'until the bishop should order otherwise.'[6] He had shewn absolute confidence in Nicholas, and in 1300 he appointed him to act on his behalf as one of the visitors of the priory.[7] The monk who compiled the annals of the priory recorded the sacrist's zeal in beautifying the church with costly altar frontals;[8] in spite of the archbishop's censure in 1301 he seems to have been popular with his brethren, for some months later he was the new prior's chaplain and was chosen as one of seven to elect the new bishop.[9] It seems probable that he had given presents to

[1] *Reg. Winchelsey*, pp. 18, 20 (Canterbury and York Society). Cf. *The Sacrist Rolls of Ely*, ed. F. R. Chapman, i 168–175, App. D.
[2] Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 83.
[3] *Cal. of Papal Registers*, ii 26.
[4] Thomas, *Survey of Worcester*, App., p. 65; Reg. Giffard, fo. 315.
[5] Liber Albus, fo. 7.
[6] Reg. Giffard, fo. 106v.
[7] *Ibid.*, ed. J. W. Bund, p. 530.
[8] *Annales Monastici*, iv 510, 513.
[9] *Reg. Sede Vacante*, ed. J. W. Bund, pp. 1, 71.

powerful friends in the interests of his house ; it is significant that in 1307 Edward, prince of Wales, wrote at the earl of Warwick's request to ask the prior and convent that Nicholas of Norton might have a room apart and sustenance for himself, two servants and two horses for life, because he had worked so hard for the good and profit of their house.[1] The prior told the prince of Wales that they had already done as the earl of Warwick wished.[2] It was usual to grant this privilege only to a prior who retired from office.

Bishop Giffard would not forgo his right to control the sacrist without a struggle. Gilbert of Madley had been appointed by the archbishop on the advice of the monks, who testified to his high character and zeal.[3] He received a summons to appear before the steward of the bishop's household on August 29 to present the inventory of the goods of the sacristy and to render an account of his administration, and he was cited to appear before the bishop's commissaries for the same purpose on September 8.[4] The archbishop promptly intervened : on September 5 he warned the bishop that he would not be set at defiance, and that speedy punishment would fall upon him if he attempted it. He was persuaded that the bishop, who was in a weak state of health, had been led astray by his advisers.[5]

On September 6, before he received this letter, Giffard removed Gilbert of Madley on the ground that he was holding the offices of sacrist and cellarer which were too great a burden for him, and he reappointed Nicholas of Norton, a monk ' circumspect in things spiritual and temporal,' and commanded the prior to hand over to him the keys, ornaments, and everything belonging to the office of sacrist.[6] In his last will, which he made at Kempsey on September 13, 1301, he left a cup of the value of 40*s.* ' to Nicholas of Norton, who is now sacrist of Worcester, if he survive me.' [7]

When the news reached the archbishop, he wrote, on September 20, to the prior bidding him admonish Nicholas, who had damnably thrust himself into the office of sacrist,

[1] Liber Albus, fo. 27[v].
[2] Ibid. fo. 28.
[3] Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 284.
[4] Ibid. fo. 144[v].
[5] Ibid.
[6] Liber Albus, fo. 1.
[7] *Reg. Gainsborough*, ed. J. W. Bund, p. 51.

to surrender it within eight days on pain of the greater excommunication.[1] He told the bishop that if, as was reported, he had tried to upset the archbishop's decrees, he must withdraw his instructions at once.[2] The bishop notified him that he had obeyed his command,[3] and, on November 7, Winchelsey wrote again to tell the prior and monks that it was their duty to support Gilbert of Madley against his envious and malicious enemies.[4]

Prior Simon of Worcester had resigned his office on July 13, on the ground of infirmity and old age which made him unfit for his duties. His successor, John de Wyke, reported the archbishop's visitation to the general chapter of the Benedictine Order which met at Northampton on September 25, and a few days later one of the two presidents, the abbot of Westminster, wrote a formal letter mitigating and relaxing the penance imposed by the archbishop on one of the Worcester monks, 'on the authority of the chapter and as far as lies in our power.'[5] The other president, the abbot of Malmesbury, wrote without any reservation 'we absolve him from the rest of his penance.'

It is unlikely that the archbishop knew how the Benedictine chapter had intervened against his authority. On February 18, 1302, he commissioned the prior to absolve the monks on whom he had imposed penances at his visitation; he heard that they had borne them with patience and amended their conduct.[6] But the dissensions were not at an end. Two years later the archbishop sent a severe reproof to the prior and convent. Some of the monks were still hostile to Gilbert of Madley, the sacrist, and to John the cellarer, so he commanded that their detractors should be excommunicated and imprisoned.[7]

'We fear,' he wrote, 'that we have spoken with the word of prophecy, that your whole house will be brought to the reproach of confusion through the obstinate pride and rash presumption of some of your rebellious brethren.'

When the archbishop left Worcester after his first visit on March 25, 1301, he went to the Cistercian monastery of

[1] Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 283v.
[2] Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 145v.
[3] Ibid. fo. 284.
[4] Ibid. fo. 284.
[5] Liber Albus, fo. 1v.
[6] Ibid. fo. 11v.
[7] Ibid. Letter inserted between fos. 82–83.

Hayles, at the foot of the Cotswolds near Winchcombe. There he met the king, with the bishops and abbots, who had been summoned to be present at the funeral of Edmund, earl of Cornwall, on March 28.[1] The archbishop visited the Benedictine monastery of Winchcombe,[2] and rode on to keep Easter (April 2) at the bishop of Hereford's manor of Prestbury, near Cheltenham.[3]

He devoted a week or longer to his visitation in Gloucester.[4] The Benedictine monastery of St. Peter had prospered greatly during the rule of Abbot John de Gamages (1284–1306).[5] The monastery was clear of debt, the manors were well stocked and profitable. The prior, William de Brok, was a doctor of theology of Oxford, and another monk, Laurence Honsom, who had also spent years of study at the Benedictine College of Gloucester Hall, gained his doctorate in 1301.[6] But there was some extravagance and worldliness of which the archbishop disapproved. He confirmed by request certain ordinances which had been drawn up in the past by the abbot and monks in council, but had not been strictly observed, and embodied them in the injunctions, which were dated in the chapter house at Gloucester on July 28.[7] These included very precise instructions concerning the management of property, the auditing of accounts, the framing of a budget for each year's expenditure, and the registration and custody of documents.

He limited the abbot's household but afterwards yielded to the monks' request that the abbot should have six esquires instead of only five.[8] He was not allowed to keep more than eight hounds and four harriers with one huntsman and a page to look after them, and if these dogs came into the guest hall during meals they must be turned out at once by the doorkeepers. No monk or servant might keep superfluous dogs or puppies in the monastery or on the manors, and no official could have hounds, harriers, or horses

[1] *Annales Monastici*, iv 549.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 551.
[3] Reg. Winchelsey, fos. 108, 141.
[4] Ibid. fo. 141 ; *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 407.
[5] *Historia et cartularium monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. Hart, i 34–41 ; *cf.* V.C.H., *Gloucestershire*, ii 55, 56.
[6] *Historia S. Petri Glouc.*, i 34, 35.
[7] *Ibid.* i., App. pp. lxxiv–xcii.
[8] *Ibid.* i., App. pp. xcii, xciii.

except in moderation. Like other landowners who had received charters of warren from the crown, the abbot and monks of Gloucester had the exclusive right of hunting and taking wild animals, principally hares and foxes, and wild fowl on their demesne lands, and they were obliged to keep a warrener or warden to prevent other people from hunting over their lands without a licence.[1] At the Council of Vienne, 1311–1312, Pope Clement V forbade monks and regular canons to hunt and hawk; if, however, they had deer leaps, stews and free warren they might keep hounds and hawks, but not within the monastery, and they might not be present at the 'sport.'[2] But this decretal was not obeyed. Chaucer's monk, who went on pilgrimage to Canterbury, loved 'venerye.'

> He yaf nat of that text a pulled hen,
> That seith, that hunters been nat holy men;
> . . . . . .
> Grehoundes he hadde, as swifte as fowel in flight;
> Of priking and of hunting for the hare
> Was all his lust.[3]

Archbishop Winchelsey also forbade the monks of Gloucester to play chess or dice or to shoot with the longbow or the crossbow, to use silk purses or unsuitable girdles or pointed knives 'because these things can become harmful to the religious life.' He ordered another entrance to be made into the garden, so that servants and others should not disturb the sick by passing through the infirmary. Since his first visit to the monastery in April, he had stayed at the manor of Standish, and found that the monks in charge kept too costly a table, which was a fraud on the almonry, and must be discontinued.

The archbishop visited the Augustinian canons of Lanthony by Gloucester, and saw their ruined church which had been burnt out in a great fire on Easter Eve, when the towers fell and only the bare walls were left standing.[4]

At his visitation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital for the

[1] *Select Pleas of the Forest*, ed. G. J. Turner, pp. cxiii–cxxxiv.
[2] *Corpus juris canonici*, ed. Friedberg, ii. 1167; *Clementinarum*, lib. iii, tit. x, cap. i.
[3] *Prologue, Canterbury Tales*, ed. Skeat, p. 7.
[4] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 408; *Historia S. Petri Glouc.*, i 35.

sick poor, at Gloucester, the archbishop removed Prior William of Abbenhall (1295–1301), because he was found guilty by common knowledge and by his own confession of waste, the possession of private property, incest, adultery, and evil living, serious negligence and other diverse crimes.[1] The affairs of the hospital were in a very critical state, and with the consent of the brethren the archbishop appointed brother John Noke as prior.

There is no entry in Winchelsey's Register of his attempt to visit the prior and canons of the Augustinian monastery of St. Oswald, Gloucester, which was within the peculiar jurisdiction of the archbishops of York.[2] It was originally a royal free chapel, and on the ground that it was thereby exempt from the jurisdiction of the metropolitan, the king now intervened. As the prior and canons refused to admit him as their visitor, Winchelsey published a sentence of excommunication and inhibited all persons in the city of Gloucester and elsewhere from selling to the prior and convent food or any other necessaries for their maintenance, and from paying rents or tithes on pain of the same sentence.[3] The prior and canons appealed to Edward I, but the case dragged on for some years, and as St. Oswald's was always a poor monastery, the strain was very severe. On April 29, 1302, Edward I ordered the sheriff of Gloucester to proclaim in Gloucester and elsewhere that everyone should buy and sell and communicate with the prior and canons of St. Oswald's, as they had been wont to do.[4] The archbishop did not revoke his sentence, and on December 25, 1304, the king wrote to the sheriff to satisfy himself of the truth of the prior's complaint, and then summon the archbishop to appear before the king on February 9, 1305.[5]

After leaving Gloucester, in April 1301, Winchelsey passed on by Standish and Kingswood to the bishop of Worcester's manor of Hembury, where he spent May 1.[6] At Bristol he intervened in the affairs of the hospital of St. Mark, Billeswick; it was an almonry at which 100 poor

[1] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 408; V.C.H., *Glouc.*, ii 119, 120.
[2] V.C.H., *Glouc.*, ii 84–86. [3] Prynne, *Records*, iii 984. [4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 1026, 1027; cf. *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1296–1302, p. 526, 30 Ed I., m. 13.
[6] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 409; Reg. Winchelsey, fos. 324v, 142v.

persons were served with a daily meal of oatmeal pottage and bread, and the property was vested in a small community of priests and clerks.[1] For over two years, since the resignation of the late master, the brethren had been involved in a lawsuit with the patron who claimed the right of presentation, entered upon the manors of the hospital, carried off the corn, and drove away the cattle. In consequence, the brethren dispersed and begged their bread and could not make the usual alms.[2] Bishop Giffard had failed to settle the dispute, but the archbishop was more successful.[3] He made a provision by which the full number of 100 poor should be fed daily in two years' time, when the property had recovered, and in the meantime the master and officials were only bound to provide for a smaller number. They must render an account of their expenses in the presence of all the brethren at least once a year.

At Bristol the archbishop heard that the clergy of the rural deanery charged a christening fee of two pence, and also that the ordinaries exacted payment for probate of wills, and executors' letters of quittance. He forbade the charge of any christening fee, though a free-will offering from the parents might be accepted, and he also inhibited the ordinaries from exactions which led the citizens of Bristol to live outside the city in order to avoid them.[4]

On leaving Bristol the archbishop rode through the Cotswold country to Cirencester, where he visited the monastery of Augustinian canons on May 18.[5] He kept the Whitsuntide festival at the bishop of Worcester's manor of Withington, and then rode on to another of his Cotswold manors, Chedworth, where he held a large ordination for the bishop on the Vigil of Trinity Sunday.[6] In addition to the clergy who received orders from him, there were Dominicans from Warwick, Bristol, and Gloucester, and one Franciscan from Shrewsbury, Augustinian canons from Cirencester, Lanthony by Gloucester, and Kenilworth, and Cistercian monks from Hayles.

[1] V.C.H., *Glouc.*, ii 114–116. [2] Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 82v.
[3] Ibid. fos. 81, 82.
[4] *Reg. Gainsborough*, ed. J. W. Bund, pp. 7, 8.
[5] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 282 ; cf. *Annales Monastici*, iv 551.
[6] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 412 ; Reg. Winchelsey, ff. 108–110.

The archbishop spent June in Warwickshire.[1] On July 13 he was back at Worcester [2] on his way to visit the priories of Great Malvern and Little Malvern.[3] He was at Tewkesbury from July 24 to 26, and at Gloucester on the 28th.[4] Thence he returned to his own diocese.

There is evidence to shew that, in the course of his visitation, the archbishop insisted on seeing the title-deeds by which parish churches were appropriated to monasteries. On July 27 he notified the prior and convent of Worcester that he had inspected their muniments touching their claim to parish churches, etc., and that these sufficed.[5] In 1302 the abbot of Reading told the prior of Worcester that the deeds and muniments by which they held the appropriation of Rowington Church and certain pensions had been read before the archbishop at his visitation, and he accepted them as sufficient.[6] Master Robert de Wych, who held the benefices of Tidrington and Alvechurch, was summoned before him as a pluralist, but he produced his institution to Tidrington with Bishop Giffard's seal as evidence that Tidrington had been given to him *in commendam* before the Council of Lyons, so the archbishop acquitted him.[7]

It is possible here only to examine some of the counts of the indictment against Bishop Giffard. It was drawn up by one of the archbishop's clerks, probably Master William of Gloucester who was with him on this visitation,[8] and was rewarded a few months later with the living of Haseley which the archbishop had found to be vacant through the negligence of the prior and canons of St. Sepulchre's, Warwick, and of Bishop Giffard.[9] In June 1299 Master William of Gloucester had acted as proctor for the prior and convent of Worcester in transacting certain business with the archbishop; a month later he was taken into the archbishop's household and appointed as one of his commissaries to hear causes in his court.[10] The indictment consisted of thirty-eight charges made against the bishop in answer to

[1] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 412.
[2] *Annales Monastici*, iv 550; *Worc. Reg. Giffard*, ed. J. W. Bund, p. 547.
[3] *Annales Monastici*, iv 550; Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 80v.
[4] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 416; Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 80v.
[5] Liber Albus, fo. 16v.
[6] *Reg. Sede Vacante*, p. 72.
[7] *Reg. Winchelsey*, p. 415.
[8] *Annales Monastici*, iv 550.
[9] Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 285.
[10] *Reg. Winchelsey*, pp. 543, 375.

the article of inquiry which were put during the visitation, and it was entered in Giffard's Register together with his reply to every charge [1] It is important to note that in the general admonition preceding the visitation, the archbishop commanded those whom he questioned to tell him what they knew to be true, what they believed to be true, and what rumour said.[2] The indictment begins, 'We Robert, etc., visiting the chapter and diocese of Worcester have found that' as follows; and it is quite clear that though the archbishop used the word 'invenimus,' the clerk framed the indictment from the charge of the bishop's accusers, and without clear proof no single count can be accepted as true. As the prior of Worcester administered the spiritualities of the diocese during each vacancy of the See, and was entitled to keep one-third of the receipts,[3] every action of the bishop which might diminish his rights or profits was contested, as in the cases of his jurisdiction over Great Malvern Priory and of the Westbury prebends.[4]

In the legatine constitutions of 1268, Cardinal Ottoboni had forbidden the bishops to appropriate any parish church to another bishop or a monastery, unless it was plain that they were oppressed by the burden of poverty or there was some other lawful cause.[5] So the prior and convent of Worcester charged the bishop with appropriating the parish church of Winchcombe to Winchcombe Abbey without lawful cause, on the false suggestion of certain persons, and they said they had consented to it in error. However, Giffard was able to prove from documents which were duly entered in his Register that Winchcombe Parish Church had long been appropriated to the monastery, and he had merely made a new settlement about the great and small tithes and the vicar's income.[6]

The archdeacon of Gloucester complained that he had

[1] Thomas, *Survey of Worcester*, App., pp. 63–73.
[2] MS. Cotton Galba E iv, fo. 61.
[3] *Reg. epistolarum J. Peckham*, ii 632–635.
[4] Thomas, *op. cit.* App., pp. 65, 67; *Reg. epistolarum J. Peckham*, ii 423, etc.; *Reg. Giffard*, ed. J. W. Bund, *passim*; cf. *Bristol and Glouc. Archaeol. Soc. Trans.*, xxxviii 110.
[5] Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, pp. 119, 120.
[6] Thomas, *op. cit.* App., p. 63; *cf.* Reg. Giffard, fo. 6, printed in *Landboc sive registrum monasterii de Winchelcumba*, ed. Royce, i 267, 268.

lost certain rights because the bishop had appropriated the parish church of Ampney St. Mary to the abbot and canons of Cirencester. The bishop replied that this was an act of restitution; a former abbot had stolen the common seal and had presented his nephew to be instituted as rector by the bishop, although the church was said to have been appropriated from the foundation of the monastery.[1] However, the crown lawyers viewed this act as a new appropriation which had been made without a mortmain licence, and in 1314 a fine of £20 was imposed on the monastery.[2]

Other complainants, probably the vicars of Grimley and Hallow, charged the bishop with appropriating their churches to Worcester Priory without lawful cause and unjustly. Giffard replied that on October 22, 1268, he sanctioned the appropriation of this church and chapel to enable the monks to exercise hospitality and to help the poor as appeared in his Register, but he was prepared to revoke it if the archbishop held that the reason was insufficient.[3] Winchelsey took no action, for Pope Nicholas IV had confirmed the appropriation.[4]

In a cathedral monastery the legal responsibility for repairing and rebuilding the church rested on the prior and convent. Sometimes, as at Canterbury, an archbishop gave a large sum to the building fund,[5] and as at Winchester[6] and Ely[7] a bishop paid for the whole or part of the new building. Owing to their financial straits the prior and convent of Worcester were anxious to throw the whole responsibility for the building and repair of the cathedral church on the bishop. But Giffard himself was often in financial difficulties, because he had inherited debts from his predecessors, and found the buildings on his manors in urgent need of repair.[8] The prior and convent told Winchelsey that when the cathedral church was burnt, *i.e.* in

[1] Thomas, *op. cit.* App., p. 72; *cf.* Reg. Giffard, fo. 436.
[2] *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1313–17, p. 103.
[3] Thomas, *op. cit.* App., p. 63; *cf.* Reg. Giffard, fo. 6.
[4] *Cal. of Papal Registers*, i 499.
[5] Woodruff and Danks, *Memorials of the Cathedral and Priory of Canterbury*, p. 168.
[6] Robert Lowth, *Life of William of Wykeham*, p. 195, and App. No. 17.
[7] *Sacrist Rolls of Ely*, ed. F. R. Chapman, i 19, 28, 29, 96; *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton, i 636.
[8] Thomas, *op. cit.* App., p. 44.

1202, the bishop took upon himself the burden of restoring it, and in consideration thereof they had granted him the tithes of their demesne lands for a term of years which had long elapsed. His successors, including Giffard, continued to take the tithes, but spent nothing on the repair of the church.[1] Giffard denied all knowledge of any such agreement, neither he nor his predecessors, so far as he knew, had received the monks' tithes. It is clear that this was a weak claim on the bishop; when the prior and convent elected their sub-prior, John of St. German, to succeed Giffard in 1302, he promised that he would continue the building of the church;[2] the central tower and the greater part of the nave then awaited completion. However, this election was declared invalid,[3] and subsequently in 1350 it was expressly stated in a papal letter that the repair and building of the church of Worcester devolved on the prior and convent.[4]

They also attempted to shew that Giffard had misapplied revenues which should have been assigned to the fabric fund, *i.e.* from property of the church in the possession of the sacrist, and from the papal grants of firstfruits of vacant churches for three years.[5] Giffard replied that he had fortified Hartlebury and paid for other buildings out of his own revenues. The moiety of offerings at the shrine of St. Wulfstan was his according to the agreement of 1224 which he produced in evidence; out of the proceeds he had paid for the repair of certain buildings adjacent to the church. The papal grant of firstfruits, according to the bull of Nicholas IV in 1290, was for the repair of the church and its buildings,[6] and he had expended what he had received on houses belonging to the church which were in need of repair.

There were several complaints about procurations taken by the bishop and his clerks. The prior and convent of Worcester told Winchelsey that when Giffard visited them in 1290 he arrived at the priory with many of his kinsmen and 140 horses, some of his people had broken the crockery

[1] Thomas, *op. cit.* App., p. 63.
[2] Reg. Sede Vacante, fo. 8.
[3] *Ann. Mon.* iv 551.
[4] *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Report xiv., App. viii., p. 168.
[5] Thomas, *op. cit.* App., p. 66; *cf.* Liber Albus, fo. 6.
[6] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i 508.

and cut the table cloths, with the bishop's connivance.[1] When he visited the Benedictine monasteries of Tewkesbury and Pershore in the same year, the expenses of his procuration were over thirty marks, instead of the legal sum, four, and he received presents from the abbot of Pershore of a grey palfrey and a silver cup.[2]

Giffard gave an emphatic denial to the statement of the prior and convent of Worcester. At Tewkesbury guests had been invited to meet him without his knowledge, and so it was the fault of the abbot and convent that the expense was so heavy. At Pershore, too, he had received the procuration due to him in food and drink, and if too much money had been spent in providing it, this was without his knowledge. More than three months afterwards the abbot of Pershore sent him a present of a foal, but he remembered nothing about a silver cup.

It was also reported to Winchelsey that Giffard's clerks, who acted as commissaries at visitations, exacted 3*s.* from some churches and 6*s.* 8*d.* from others, although they had received procuration, and this with his connivance.[3] Giffard answered that, so far as he knew, his clerks had nothing but the procurations due to them. However, it is possible that his clerks, like those of the papal curia and the king's courts, were very successful in getting fees for themselves. They were probably responsible for other charges to which the bishop himself gave a flat denial. These were that clerks who wished for certificates of their orders paid a fee of 2*s.* 6*d.* for sealing them ; while clerks officiating in the diocese, who were asked by him for proofs of their orders, paid a fee of 1*s.*, if these were correct ; in the case of any deficiency the fee was 6*s.* 8*d.* ; and from those who had not their proofs it was raised to 13*s.* 4*d.*, and if they refused to pay they were suspended.

In the course of his visitation the archbishop heard at Worcester, Gloucester, Lanthony by Gloucester, St. Augustine's, Bristol, Cirencester, and other monasteries that when the Bishop's official and clerks came to hold a consistory court or to transact other business in the neighbourhood,

[1] Thomas, *op. cit.* App., p. 71.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 71.
[3] *Ibid.* App., p. 68.

they demanded as a right hospitality which had sometimes been given as a favour, and, with their servants and horses, they stayed in the monasteries for three, four, and sometimes eight days, which was an intolerable burden and expense.[1] The archbishop held that the judges of the ordinary should maintain themselves at their own expense when they were not on a visitation, and on November 7, 1301, he commissioned the abbots of Winchcombe and Pershore to prevent the recurrence of this scandal in the diocese. However, while he was in exile in 1307, Pope Clement V reversed his decision and confirmed the right of the bishop of Worcester to have his official and servants received and lodged wherever they went on business, notwithstanding any orders made by the archbishop of Canterbury.[2] But the question was not settled by Clement V's Bull.

In 1315 the monasteries of Worcester, Gloucester, Lanthony by Gloucester, and Cirencester entered into an agreement to refuse hospitality to the bishop's official and clerks, and created a common fund to protect their interests at law.[3]

In Winchelsey's visitation articles there were searching inquiries about the institution of pluralists, and in consequence Giffard was charged with conferring churches with cure of souls on four notorious pluralists who were clerks of the king.[4] There are entries in his Register which prove that on occasion he refused to institute pluralists whom the king provided with benefices in return for their services, but he was forced to give way, especially as in the last resort they were able to get dispensations from the pope to hold more than one benefice.

The case of Ralph of Hengham, a non-resident pluralist, was discussed at the Bishop's Council at Hartlebury in 1299.[5] He had held a canonry in the collegiate church of Warwick for over twenty years,[6] and in 1294 he possessed no fewer than fourteen English benefices with cure of souls.[7] He had been Chief Justice of the King's Bench from 1274 until 1290,

[1] Liber Albus, fo. 5v. [2] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii 26.
[3] *Historia et cart larium S. Petri Glouc.*, ed. Hart, i 140–146.
[4] Thomas, *op. cit.* App., p. 70.
[5] *Reg. Giffard*, ed. J. W. Bund, p. 516. [6] *Ibid.* p. 138.
[7] *Cal. of Pat.*, 1292–1301, p. 122, 22 Ed. I, m. 5d.

when he was imprisoned and fined for the perversion of justice, but in 1300 he was again among the judges who were summoned to Parliament, and in 1301 he was appointed Chief Justice of Common Pleas.[1] The Bishop's Council decided that as he was of the King's Council it was inexpedient to proceed against him. When Giffard was charged with admitting him to the benefice of Fairford, he told the archbishop that Hengham had promised to shew him a papal dispensation for pluralism which he was expecting to receive, and in three other cases he made the same excuse, adding that he had done as other bishops did.[2] Winchelsey was obliged to overlook the case of Ralph of Hengham, but he had a struggle with another less known pluralist, Peter of Leicester.

Peter of Leicester first appeared in the diocese of Worcester in 1275, when he was presented to Preston Bagot by Sir Peter de Montford, and he kept this benefice until March 4, 1302, when he persuaded the executors of the earl of Warwick to present his clerk to the living, which he then resigned in his favour.[3] In 1282, when still a sub-deacon, he was instituted to Budbrook on the presentation of Ralph of Hengham and other canons of Warwick.[4] He was very clever and already well versed in law, and in 1284 Bishop Giffard appointed him steward of his lands ; two years later he gave him the rectory of Cleeve and attached Budbrook to a prebend of the collegiate church of Warwick, which relieved Peter of the obligation of residence at Budbrook, but after a few months he revoked both grants on account of Peter's ingratitude, and cited him to be instituted to Preston Bagot, which Peter asserted that he held *in commendam*[5] Peter would not agree to resign Cleeve until two years later when the bishop, out of kindness, gave him the prebend of Aust in the collegiate church of Westbury. But in 1293 he prosecuted a successful appeal for Cleeve ; the bishop, the rector of Cleeve, his chaplains, and other persons were excommunicated for contumacy, and the

[1] *State Trials of Edward I*, ed. T. F. Tout and H. Johnstone, p. xxx.
[2] Thomas, *op. cit.* App., p. 70.
[3] *Reg. Giffard*, ed. J. W. Bund, p. 67 ; *Reg. Sede Vacante*, ed. J. W. Bund, p. 72.
[4] *Reg. Giffard*, pp. 169, 199.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 286, 290, 306.

church of Cleeve was put under an interdict.[1] Peter had found the service of the king more profitable than that of the bishop; he was first introduced into the Exchequer in 1279 when he was appointed a clerk of the Receipt on the presentation of the earl of Warwick; he acted as Justice of the Jews, sat on the commission which tried the judges, and became a baron of the Exchequer in 1291.[2] He was loyal to the king, and in 1301, by reason of his long service, he received a licence to reside in his own house as often as he needed quiet and recreation, and to return to the Exchequer and to stay there at his duties according to his will.[3]

In 1297 Giffard cited Peter with other pluralists for holding many benefices with cure of souls without papal dispensation, and he conferred the rich benefice of Thornbury on William of Cherington, although the abbot and convent of Tewkesbury had presented Peter of Leicester.[4] But it was hopeless; Peter got a decision of the Court of Arches in his favour, and was inducted at Thornbury in 1298.[5]

When Winchelsey came to Budbrook on his visitation, it was common knowledge that the benefice was legally vacant; Peter had not taken priest's orders within a year of his admission, and he was a pluralist without a papal dispensation.[6] The true patrons had presented John of Corthugstoke, who humbly petitioned the archbishop for help, so he commanded Giffard to admit John to Budbrook before June 29, 1301, and failing compliance to appear before him, together with Peter of Leicester, on the third law-day afterwards.

The infirm old bishop naturally shrank from a new struggle with the powerful baron of the Exchequer. A few months afterwards, when Giffard was dead, Peter wrote to the prior of Worcester, who administered the spiritualities during the vacancy, and asked him to confirm the annexation of Budbrook to his prebend of Warwick, whereby he

[1] *Reg. Giffard*, p. 429.
[2] *State Trials*, p. xxiii.
[3] *Cal. of Pat.*, 1292–1301, p. 615.
[4] *Reg. Giffard*, ed. J. W. Bund, pp. 487, 489.
[5] Reg. Giffard, fos. 414v, 422, 423.
[6] Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 144.

would be relieved of the duty of residence. The prior begged to be excused.[1] Meanwhile Peter took the final step to secure his position as a pluralist. On August 5, 1302, Pope Boniface VIII addressed a letter to his beloved son, Peter of Leicester, in which he gave him permission to retain Hendon in Middlesex, Thornbury in Gloucestershire, and Wulfamcote in Warwickshire, all benefices with cure of souls, together with his canonry of Lichfield and his prebends of Westbury and Warwick.[2]

Peter now resigned Budbrook, and in 1303 the archbishop admonished him to compound with John of Corthugstoke for all the law expenses.[3] But after all John did not get the benefice for which he had waited so long. Ralph of Hengham, who had given it to Peter of Leicester in 1282, now pressed his claim to the presentation against that of the Dean of Warwick, and the judge's candidate, Peter of Barton, a sub-deacon, was instituted to Budbrook on December 26, 1303.[4]

Winchelsey also found pluralists among clerks in the bishop's service. Giffard defended himself on the ground that he had kept within the letter of the canon law. In the case of his former official, Thomas de Stokes, who was said to have held at the same time the rectory of Kempsey, the rectory of Cam and the vicarage of Standish, Giffard maintained that at Standish Thomas held the portion of a rector *in commendam*, not that of a vicar which carried with it the obligation of residence. His possession of Cam was disputed all the time that he held it.[5] The case had come up before the Council of Hartlebury in 1299 when it was reported that Thomas de Stokes, pluralist, resided at Kempsey according to the bishop's last mandate, and since 1298 he also had a coadjutor on account of his ill-health.[6] However, there was a memorandum that since according to the new constitution of Boniface VIII no clerk shall hold any church or vicarage without the title of institution, the

[1] *Reg. Sede Vacante*, ed. J. W. Bund, p. 21.
[2] *Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Digard, p. 539.
[3] Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 289.
[4] *Reg. Gainsborough*, ed. J. W. Bund, p. 124.
[5] Thomas, *op. cit.* App., p. 69.
[6] *Reg. Giffard*, ed. J. W. Bund, pp. 515–517.

bishop notified Thomas de Stokes that from henceforth he should hold the vicarage of Standish by institution instead of *in commendam* as heretofore, and that the church of Kempsey which Thomas also held by institution was at the bishop's disposal.[1] Nevertheless the archbishop found Thomas still in possession of Kempsey, so he began proceedings against him. Bishop Giffard died on January 26, 1302, and on April 27, while the See was vacant, the king intervened and presented his clerk, Peter of Collingburn, to Kempsey, and gave Thomas de Stokes the benefice of Owston in Lincolnshire which was vacated by Peter, as this was a case of collusion. The archbishop was surprised, as the proceedings were not concluded, but he advised the prior of Worcester to do as he thought best, so on Michaelmas Day prior John inducted Peter of Collingburn, by proxy, to Kempsey.[2]

When Bishop Giffard made his last will at Kempsey, on September 15, 1301, and bequeathed his best ring to the archbishop, he was anxious about his tomb, and wrote: 'I ask lovingly, and I exhort in Jesus Christ, the Prior of Worcester, at the time of my funeral, and the worshipful body of his fellow monks, that they bury my body in the tomb which is situated alongside the high altar on the right hand.'[3] The archbishop had seen the tomb with grave displeasure. On January 10, 1302, he wrote to the prior and sacrist of Worcester about the tall and costly structure of squared stone with pinnacles like a tabernacle, which Giffard had built for his last resting-place. It occupied the place of sedilia in other churches, and blocked the light which should fall upon the altar, and there were other inconveniences of which the common people complained. Moreover, to make way for his own monument, the bishop had removed the body of Bishop John of Coutances and the chest in which it rested, 'a disgraceful thing.' The archbishop commanded the prior and sacrist to take down the whole structure and put the monument lower down on the south side, where it could be better seen by passers-by, restore the

[1] Reg. Giffard, fo. 442.

[2] *Cal. of Pat.*, 1301–7, p. 29; *Reg. Sede Vacante*, ed. J. W. Bund, pp. 28, 61, 66.

[3] *Reg. Gainsborough*, ed. J. W. Bund, p. 49.

body of John of Coutances to its former resting-place, and to prepare sedilia. They must act within eight days of the receipt of the mandate, and intimate to the bishop that he could build his tomb lower down or in another more suitable place.[1] This mandate was sent with a covering letter from the archbishop's clerk, Master William of Gloucester, advising the prior to publish it in chapter and then in the cathedral church before the people, to justify his action, but if he thought it expedient, he could wait to publish the mandate until after he had executed it.[2] The bishop died on January 26. On February 12 the prior wrote to the archbishop begging to be excused because he had not removed the tomb of the bishop. He had been afraid of hastening his death, and of a scandal among the people; if the archbishop wished it, this could be done more decently after the funeral, which had taken place a week before.[3]

The monument, which is believed to be that of Bishop Giffard, is now on the south side of Prince Arthur's Chantry, within the screen,[4] but so far as I have been able to discover there is no record to tell if the monument remained under its high tabernacle work until the chantry was built over it, two hundred years later.

The result of this visitation was that the archbishop issued injunctions to several of the monasteries, regulated the affairs of two hospitals, took proceedings to deprive some of the clergy for non-residence and pluralism, and attempted to remedy grievances by reforming the administration of the diocese. But he was hampered by the interference of the crown and of the papacy, and by the influence of unscrupulous lawyers. In the previous years of his primacy he had had the same experience in his own and other dioceses, but in spite of it he pursued the task of reform within the Church with dauntless courage.

[1] Reg. Winchelsey, fo. 146; Liber Albus, fo. 6v.
[2] Liber Albus, fo. 14.
[3] Ibid. fo. 10v.
[4] *Archæological Journal*, xx 341, 342.

XVI

THE CIVIC POSITION OF WOMEN AT COMMON LAW BEFORE 1800

An appeal to history is often a weapon in the armoury of advocates and opponents of wider opportunities for women as citizens, but it is dangerous to make use of it without verifying references, for sometimes erroneous statements are drawn from obsolete authorities.[1] It is well known that in the Middle Ages there were certain hereditary grand serjeanties which could be served by deputy, and that women were able to carry these to their husbands and transmit them to their heirs.[2] For instance, Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle and Devon, held the office of hereditary Chamberlain of the Exchequer for a few years in the reigns of Henry III and Edward I.[3] But the civic position of women landowners and occupiers is an obscure problem, and it is interesting to discover what share they were able to take in the administration of the county and the parish before the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Sheriffs

Although the sheriff was afterwards stripped of some of his powers, in the Middle Ages he was governor of the shire under the crown, captain of its forces, and president of its court. There are several women whose names appear in the 'Lists of Sheriffs in England and Wales to 1831.'[4] The

[1] E.g. *Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords*, vol. xxiv. No. 8, pp. 263, 269. *The Times*, March 2, 1917 (letter from Mr. J. H. Round).

[2] Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, i. 483, note 2 (ed. 1898).

[3] *Dialogus de Scaccario*, ed. A. Hughes, C. G. Crump, C. Johnson, p. 21; T. Madox, *History and Antiquities of the Exchequer of England*, ii 296, 297; *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, ii 200; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, iii 1025 (Rolls Series).

[4] *Public Record Office, Lists and Indexes*, No. ix.

office might be served by deputy, and it had been difficult to prevent the shrievalties from becoming hereditary; but at the end of the thirteenth century the danger had been generally surmounted.[1]

In Westmoreland, however, the shrievalty was hereditary from 1203 to 1850.[2] It was granted by King John to Robert de Vieux Pont and his heirs,[3] and although the inheritance was confiscated when his grandson, Robert de Vieux Pont, fought with Simon de Montford against Henry III, it was recovered in 1266 for his co-heiresses, his daughters Isabella de Clifford and Idonea de Leyburn, each of them afterwards receiving 66*s.* 8*d.* as a moiety of the profits of the shrievalty.[4] In the record of a dispute with the burgesses of Appleby, the husbands of the co-heiresses, Roger de Clifford and Roger de Leyburn, are described as sheriffs in fee, but the duties of the office were discharged by a deputy sheriff.[5] In 1282 Isabella was a widow, aged twenty-eight, with a son and heir, Robert, eight or nine years old; in 1284 Idonea was a widow of twenty-two, with a son and heir, John, three or four years old.[6] In 1287 Isabella and Idonea sued the burgesses of Appleby in the Court of King's Bench because they attempted to try a murder case in their own court to the prejudice of the crown and the sheriff.[7] The burgesses were worsted.

An eighteenth-century MS. with the title 'A Summary of the Lives of the Veteriponts, Cliffords, and Earls of Cumberland, and of the Lady Anne, Countess-Dowager of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery,' contains this startling statement about Isabella de Clifford: 'And very remarkable it is in the life of this Isabella, that in the time of her widdowhood she had the honour to execute the same office in her own person, and sat herself upon the bench as hereditarie sheriff

[1] Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.* i 533; Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, ed. 1891, i 295.

[2] 13 & 14 Vict. c. 30.

[3] *Cal of the Patent Rolls*, 1396–99, p. 344.

[4] *Ibid.* 1258–66, p. 555; *Cal. of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, ii 291.

[5] Nicholson and Burn, *History and Antiquities of Westmoreland and Cumberland*, 1777, i 314; cf. *Cal. of the Patent Rolls*, 1266–72, p. 291; *Lists and Indexes*, No. ix, p. 150.

[6] *Cal. of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, ii 290, 291, 315.

[7] Nicholson and Burn, *op. cit.* i 315; cf. *Coram Rege* Roll, No. 103 (Public Record Office).

of Westmoreland upon trials of life and death, an honour which no woman in this kingdom hath hitherto attained but herself.'[1] The eighteenth-century historians of Westmoreland were more cautious, for they wrote: 'It is said that Isabella sat personally in court and executed the office of sheriff.'[2] There is apparently no other source for the statement than the records of the suit brought by Isabella and Idonea against the burgesses of Appleby in 1287, and it had its origin in a misunderstanding. Deputy sheriffs continued to discharge the duties of the sheriff during the life of Isabella.[3]

Both the sisters were very tenacious of their rights as co-heiresses, and both of them had sons to inherit their rights. They appear to have disputed about their claim to appoint the deputy sheriff, and it was agreed that Isabella should make the presentation to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer and Idonea should signify her consent.[4] In 1292 Isabella died.[5] Her son Robert was a minor and a ward of the crown, and on April 17, 1293, Edward I gave the shrievalty to Thomas de Hellebeke by reason of the transgression of Idonea de Leyburn in presenting a certain sheriff to the justices itinerant of Appleby, without the consent of Isabella's heir and contrary to the recognised form of presentation to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer.[6] From 1298 to 1308 Idonea de Leyburn appears in the lists as joint sheriff with her nephew Robert de Clifford, and they served the office by deputy.[7] During that time Idonea married a second husband, John de Crumwelle. In 1308, when Robert first began to act as sheriff, her name disappears; she lived on until 1333, when she died without surviving issue, so her moiety of the shrievalty fell to the Cliffords.[8]

[1] MS. Harl. 6177, fo. 13; cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Anne Clifford.

[2] Nicholson and Burn, *op. cit.* i 273.

[3] *Ibid.*; cf. *Lists and Indexes*, No. ix, p. 150.

[4] Nicholson and Burn, *op. cit.* i 273.

[5] *Cal. of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, iii 53.

[6] *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll*, No. 64 (Public Record Office).

[7] *Lists and Indexes*, No. ix, p. 150; cf. 31*st Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, p. 354.

[8] *Cal. of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, vii 392.

On February 28, 1392, Queen Anne received a grant from Richard II of the shrievalty of Westmoreland so long as she had the custody of the heir of the late Thomas Lord Clifford.[1] Eight months later, on November 6, Queen Anne was permitted to grant the shrievalty to Elizabeth, late wife of the said Thomas, with power to appoint an under-sheriff, as the said Thomas and his ancestors were wont to do.[2] Elizabeth, Lady Clifford, was sheriff until her son John came of age in 1411, and on his death his widow, another Elizabeth, Lady Clifford, was sheriff from 1422 to 1438.[3] In both cases the ladies exercised the right of appointing a deputy. From 1650 to 1675 Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, held the office of sheriff of Westmoreland in succession to her husband, who, however, had the office in right of his wife.[4] In Hargrave's notes to Coke's 'Institutes' it is stated that she exercised the office in person, and that at the assizes at Appleby she sat with the judges on the bench.[5] The statement is repeated in most of the accounts of Anne Clifford, but the earliest source appears to be the note by Francis Hargrave (1741?–1821) who gave no authority for it. In Anne Clifford's diary[6] she mentions year by year the arrival of the two judges for the Northern Circuit at Appleby 'to keep the Assizes in the Moot hall'; they lay in her castle of Appleby, one usually in the Baron's Chamber and the other in the best room in Caesar's Tower. Sometimes she was away at Skipton when they arrived, and in 1653 she wrote: 'This was the first time I lay in Appleby Castle when there was an assize held there.'[7] If there were any foundation for the statement that she sat on the bench with the judges at the Assizes, she would have mentioned it at least once in her diary. In 1650 she wrote: 'On December 29 in this year did I sign and seal a patent to Mr. Thomas Gabetis to be my deputy sheriff of the county of Westmoreland for the execution of which office he had the Counsell of State's order for his approbation, bearing date November 21 before.'[8] In her will Anne

[1] *Cal. of the Patent Rolls*, 1391–96, p. 67. [2] *Ibid.* p. 196.
[3] *Lists and Indexes*, No. ix, p. 150.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 151; cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, xi 56, 57.
[5] Coke, *Institutes with Notes by Hargrave and Others*, ed. 1823, ii 326a.
[6] MS. Harl. 6177, fos. 119–206. [7] Ibid. fo. 139. [8] Ibid. fo. 136.

Clifford described herself as 'high sheriffeses (*sic*) by inheritance of the county of Westmoreland,' [1] and she was the last woman to hold a shrievalty in England.

In Worcestershire the shrievalty was for a time hereditary in the family of the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick. One widow, Cecily, Duchess of Warwick, appears in the lists of sheriffs from June 5, 1449, until her death on July 26, 1450.[2]

The county of Rutland has had two women among the sheriffs. In 1288 Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, received a grant of the hereditary shrievalty of Rutland, which passed to his widow, Margaret, when he died without issue in 1300.[3] Like her husband, she served the office by deputy. In 1309 Edward II granted the reversion upon the death of Margaret, Countess of Cornwall, of the castle of Oakham and the shrievalty of Rutland to Piers Gaveston, and after his execution in 1312 to his widow, another Margaret, sister of the Earl of Gloucester.[4] The shrievalty was confirmed to her, when she took Hugh de Audley as her second husband, and their names appear together as sheriffs of Rutland for the first time in 1317.[5] Although they were deprived of the office in 1321, they recovered it on the deposition of Edward II and held it for twenty years, leaving their duties to be performed by deputy.[6]

The shrievalty of Cornwall was given to Queen Isabella in 1317, and she held it until 1330, but the duties were performed by a deputy.[7]

In all these instances women held the office of sheriff either by right of inheritance or in virtue of a grant from the crown as a source of profit for their lives.

In the early years of the thirteenth century there are two more interesting cases of women who were appointed to the office of sheriff. From the scanty records it is possible to discern that both of them were women of great force of character.

Nicholaa de la Haye, daughter and heiress of Richard

[1] *Archaeologia Æliana* (New Series), i 11.
[2] *Lists and Indexes*, No. ix, p. 158.
[3] *Victoria County History, Rutland*, i 173; *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1296–1302, p. 404.
[4] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1307–13, pp. 225, 226.
[5] *Ibid.* 1313–17, p. 664.
[6] *Lists and Indexes*, No. ix, p. 112.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 21.

de la Haye, brought estates in Normandy and Lincolnshire, and a claim to the hereditary wardenship of Lincoln Castle to her husband, Gerard de Camville.[1] Gerard was appointed sheriff of Lincolnshire on several occasions during the reigns of Richard I and John; he held office during the king's pleasure and accounted for the ferm of the shire at the Exchequer for the last time at Easter in 1205.[2] He died probably in 1215. In the strife between King John and his adherents and Louis of France and the barons who had invited him to England, Nicholaa de la Haye held Lincoln Castle for the king.[3] Her gallant defence was long remembered in the city, and it is recorded on the Hundred Roll that the jurors who were summoned before the justices at Lincoln in 1275 told how, after the death of her husband, Gerard de Camville, the lady Nicholaa de la Haye held the castle in time of war and in time of peace.[4] After the war the lord king came to Lincoln and the lady Nicholaa went out to the west gate carrying the keys in her hand, and she met the king, and offered him the keys as though to her lord, and said she was a woman of great age, and had borne many labours and anxieties in the castle and could no longer bear such. And the lord king John gently gave the keys back and said 'If you please continue to bear them.' King John raised the leaguer of Lincoln on September 22, 1216, and on October 18, a day before his death, letters patent were sealed appointing Nicholaa de la Haye and Philip Marc joint sheriffs of the county of Lincoln.[5] It was of the utmost importance in time of war that the sheriff should hold the royal castle and thus control the town and the surrounding country.[6] King John recognised the services of the lady Nicholaa and gave her a strong coadjutor, for Philip Marc was a great soldier, and already held the shrievalties of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. On January 7, 1217, the Earl Marshal, as governor of the kingdom during Henry III's minority, appointed Geoffrey de Serland to

[1] *Archaeologia*, xxvii 112.
[2] *Lists and Indexes*, No. ix, p. 78; *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p. 35b, and *Dictionary of National Biography*, viii 404.
[3] Sir James Ramsay, *The Angevin Empire*, p. 497; *The Dawn of the Constitution*, pp. 8, 10.
[4] *Rotuli Hundredorum*, i 309.
[5] *Rot. Lit. Pat.* p. 199b.
[6] *R. Hist. Soc. Transactions* (New Series), xviii 272.

serve as under-sheriff of Lincolnshire under Nicholaa de la Haye.[1] In the spring the castle was again besieged by a strong force for several weeks, until May 21, when the royalists defeated those barons who still supported Louis of France in the battle known as the Fair of Lincoln. On May 24 the king's uncle, William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, received a grant of the shrievalty of the city and county of Lincolnshire; it was a lucrative office, and it has been suggested that it was a reward for the earl's return to the royalist party.[2] But Nicholaa de la Haye was not content to yield up her office to the Earl of Salisbury, who had already secured the marriage of her granddaughter Idonea, heiress of the baronies of de la Haye and Camville, for his son William.[3] Moreover, Ranulf, Earl of Chester, laid claim to the custody of Lincoln Castle, of which Nicholaa believed herself to be the hereditary warden. On October 21, 1217, the Earl Marshal wrote in the king's name to the Earl of Salisbury telling him that Nicholaa de la Haye had come to London as a suppliant to ask that her rights might be restored to her, especially the custody of the castle of Lincoln.[4] In consideration of her faithful service to the king and his father, her petition was granted. She was to have the custody of the castle and also the shrievalty of the city and county of Lincoln during the king's pleasure. But on this occasion Nicholaa held the shrievalty only for a few weeks, and the Earl of Salisbury again superseded her on December 4.[5]

It is a singular coincidence that the other great lady who held the office of sheriff under Henry III was the widow of William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury. Ela d'Evreux was Countess of Salisbury in her own right, and had been given in marriage by Richard I to his half-brother, William Longsword, in 1198. He held the shrievalty of Wiltshire on several occasions during the reigns of Richard I and John, and from 1218 until his death on March 7, 1226.[6] But the

[1] *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1216–25, p. 20. [2] *Ibid.* p. 65.
[3] Bowles and Nichols, *History of Lacock*, pp. 169, 170.
[4] *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1216–25, pp. 117, 118.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 130.
[6] *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxiv 118; *Lists and Indexes*, No. ix, p. 152; *Rot. Lit. Pat.* p. 101.

office was declared not to be hereditary in the family of the Earls of Salisbury, and the grants were 'made during the king's pleasure.'[1] On March 23, 1226, Simon de Hal was appointed sheriff of Wiltshire, and the Countess Ela was commanded to deliver Salisbury Castle to his keeping.[2] It is not unlikely that Countess Ela desired to keep the castle and the shrievalty, which she could serve by deputy as the earl had done. She knew of the precedent of Nicholaa de la Haye, and ten months later, on January 22, 1227, the king entrusted her with the custody of the county of Wiltshire during his pleasure.[3] From 1228 to 1231 John of Monmouth held the office of sheriff and kept the castle. Ela was not content. In 1231 she paid the king a fine of 200 marks to have the custody of the county of Wiltshire and the castle of Salisbury for her life on condition that neither she nor her heirs should be able to claim any hereditary right in the said county and castle; and in the grant it was stated that the king would not take away the shrievalty from her so long as she conducted herself well and answered for the ferm of the county at the Exchequer.[4] However, she had other strong interests. In 1232 she gave the Carthusians a new home at Hinton, and founded a house of Augustinian canonesses at Lacock in Wiltshire.[5] On January 3, 1237, she ceased to be sheriff and keeper of Salisbury Castle,[6] and in 1238 she became a canoness of Lacock, and was elected abbess of her house in 1240.

There are no other instances of women who have held

[1] Bracton's *Note-Book*, pl. 1235, vol. iii, pp. 248, 249 (ed. F. W. Maitland).
[2] *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1225–32, p. 25. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 108, 109.
[4] *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1225–32, p. 431. In the lists of sheriffs of Wiltshire (*Lists and Indexes*, No. ix, p. 152) the name of Ela, countess of Salisbury, is printed as sheriff in person against the date Michaelmas 1236 instead of sheriff with a deputy as in the previous years. The heading of the Pipe Roll (No. 80) for the previous year is 'Ela, Comitissa Sarr̃ Robertus de Plugenay pro ea.' The heading of Pipe Roll No. 81 is 'Ela Comitissa Sarr̃ de prima iiij parte anni Will. Jereberd de secunda iiij parte ut custos Robertus de Hakesham de ult' di' anni ut custos.' The sheriff produced his accounts at Easter and Michaelmas, and Ela was succeeded by William Jereberd on January 3. Under these circumstances the omission of the name of a deputy for three months on the heading of this Roll is insufficient evidence for the statement that Ela acted as sheriff in person (*cf.* Stopes, *British Freewomen*, p. 43).
[5] E. M. Thompson, *The Somerset Carthusians*, p. 222; Bowles and Nichols, *History of Lacock*, p. 171.
[6] *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1232–47, p. 172; Bowles and Nichols, *op. cit.* p. 181.

the shrievalty. The office sometimes devolved upon them in default of male heirs in order that an important and valuable right might not lapse. In most cases they exercised the office by deputy; in a few others they served jointly with men who were responsible for the work if there was no deputy. No woman was ever elected to the office in any of the towns or chosen for any county in the reign of Edward I, or from 1338 to 1340 during the time when the knights of the shire nominated the sheriffs for the approval of the Lord Treasurer.[1]

Ladies of the Manor

There is a wealth of evidence in the charters of monastic foundations, in the *Placita de Quo Warranto*, the *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, and other records to prove that, either by inheritance or marriage, women owned land with its privileges and burdens. They were lords of manors and held some of the hundreds which had passed into private hands. These few instances are examples of many others, not isolated cases. In 1290 Edward I confirmed a charter whereby Maud Passelewe, one of the heirs of Sir Thomas of Barrow, in Suffolk, in her widowhood gave to Sir William Gifford and his wife Katherine, daughter of the said Maud, her heirs and assigns, all the manor of Barrow with the advowson of the church, the market, fair, mill, and other appurtenances with view of frankpledge, gallows and other justice and liberties.[2]

Agnes de Vescy, second wife of William de Vescy, daughter of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, and co-heiress with her three sisters of Walter Marshall, fifth Earl of Pembroke, held of the king in Dorsetshire the hundred of Hundredsbarrow, in which she had gallows and the assize of bread and beer, *i.e.* the power of enforcing the general ordinance fixing the weight of bread and the price of bread and beer.[3] In Yorkshire she had gallows and the assize of bread and beer in Malton, and she was negligent in punishing certain persons in the town for breach of the assize.[4]

[1] *Lists and Indexes*, No. ix, pp. iii, v.
[2] *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, ii. 282, 283.
[3] *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. 99.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 132.

In her wood in the wapentake of Pickering she had a court in which persons who felled and carried off timber and killed any of the beasts therein were punished very heavily for trifling offences.[1]

Manorial Rights of Abbesses

Nunneries received manors, and even hundreds, in their endowments. When Henry II transferred the nunnery of Amesbury to nuns of the Order of Fontevrault in 1179, he granted his own manor of Wallop, and gave and confirmed nine other manors with all their appurtenances.[2]

In 1286 Edward I granted a valuable charter of liberties to the prioress and nuns of Amesbury, as his daughter had taken the veil in their house.[3] In all their lands they should have view of frankpledge, amends of the assize of bread and beer, pillory, tumbril, gallows, and all the amercements of all their men, wherever amerced, which would fall to the king, and all the chattels of their men being fugitives or felons, or who after indictment withdrew from justice, and also all money paid for murder. All these the prioress and nuns should levy by their bailiffs, with the right to distrain for them if necessary. The king excluded the sheriff, constable, and all other officials save those of the forest from the lands and fees of the prioress and nuns, unless they made default, and he gave them the privileges of pleading all pleas of withernam in their own lands and of having the return of all the king's writs.

The legal rights of some of the great abbesses are recorded in the *Placita de Quo Warranto*, the Hundred Rolls, and various inquisitions. The abbess of Romsey had the hundred of Whorpelsdown in which she held view of frankpledge without the sheriff.[4] The abbess of Wilton had the hundred of Cawden, and defended her claim before the justices at Wilton in 1281.[5] The abbess of Romsey had

[1] *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii 107.
[2] *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, ii 157–159.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 331.
[4] *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, ii 102, 103; *Select Pleas in Manorial and other Seignorial Courts*, ed. F. W. Maitland, i 176 (Selden Society); Bracton's *Note-Book*, nos. 775, 1110, ed. F. W. Maitland, ii 592, 593, iii 128, 129; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii 235.
[5] *Placita de Quo Warranto*, p. 799.

a gallows on her manor of Romsey by royal grant from the time of King Edgar to the death of the Abbess Maud Patrick in 1218 or 1219. After her death the gallows was not used for a long time, as no one was condemned, so the gallows fell down, and the abbess dared not set it up again without the king's leave, and in 1263 a writ was issued to the justices itinerant in Hampshire to hold an inquiry.[1] In 1285 the abbess of Godstow appeared before the judges at Oxford and defended her right to her gallows in the manor of Bloxham and to fines for breaches of the assize of bread and beer.[2]

As owners of property, women had the privilege and profits attached to the holding of courts of hundreds and manors. There is no particle of evidence to justify the statement which has been made sometimes that women presided in these courts. They had their seneschals or stewards, men learned in the law, who held their courts in their name.[3] Women had no place either on the bench or in the jury-box.[4] Abbots and other lords of manors and hundreds appointed stewards to act for them, and sometimes allowed the stewardship to become hereditary, and great lawyers accepted it.[5] There are instances in which an abbot or prior chose to hold a manorial court, and often it fell to the cellarer, also a monk, to go round the manors and hold the courts.[6] But this was impossible for an abbess or cellaress. The popes often appointed an abbot or prior to act as judge delegate; there is no instance in which they chose an abbess or prioress.[7] Records give an occasional glimpse of the steward of an abbess at his work. In the full court of the abbess of Godstow in 1219 her steward Henry plighted his troth for the abbess and convent.[8] John

[1] *Cal. of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* (Chancery), i 96.

[2] *Placita de Quo Warranto*, p. 663.

[3] E.g. *Cal. of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* (Chancery), ii 49; *cf.* Walter of Henley's *Husbandry together with an Anonymous Husbandry, Seneschaucie and Robert Grosseteste's Rules*, ed. E. Lamond, pp. 85, 123–125 (R. Hist. Soc.).

[4] Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, i 485.

[5] *Ibid.* i 530, 592; cf. *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. Arnold, i 232, 233; *Cal. of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* (Chancery), i 512, 513.

[6] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, i 302; *Extracts from Halmote Court Rolls*, 1256–1384, ed. Longstaffe and Booth, pp. xi, xii (Surtees Society).

[7] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, passim.

[8] *English Register of Godstow Nunnery*, ed. A. Clark, pp. 169, 170 (Early English Text Society).

Barill, steward of the abbess of Shaftesbury, amerced Godiva Pucke in the court of Baieworth for breach of the assize of beer and took from her a shilling.[1]

As owners of land, ladies of the manor and abbesses shared some, but not all, either of the privileges or of the burdens of men. It is clear that sex was a real barrier to direct participation in local government.

Churchwardens

Women have always been eligible to act as churchwardens. From the thirteenth century, when churchwardens first appear as legal representatives of the parishioners,[2] until the reign of Henry VIII, they were solely concerned with the ecclesiastical life of the parish.[3] There is evidence for the belief that they were elected yearly by the whole adult population ; in the earliest accounts for Croscombe parish, in which there were guilds of wives and of maidens who gave money to the Church, it is noted that the wardens were chosen ' by al the parresch.' [4] As women sometimes served the office of warden, it is unlikely that they were excluded from voting. From 1525 to 1546 the churchwardens at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields were elected ' by the consent, will and agreement of the whole body of the parich.' [5]

In several instances it is known that women churchwardens were widows. In the parish of St. Petrock, Exeter,[6] for the year 1428–9, Beatrice Bray presented the accounts with John Edward, and the legacy of Thomas Bray appears therein. In 1514 Joan, widow of William Snyder, presented the accounts with Robert Buller ; in the previous year William Snyder was himself junior churchwarden, and, according to the custom of the parish at that time, he would have been senior warden in the next year.

[1] *Cal. of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* (Chancery), i 356.
[2] Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.* i 614.
[3] *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe*, etc., ed. Hobhouse, p. xv (Somerset Record Society).
[4] *Ibid.* pp. xi, 6.
[5] J. V. Kitto, *Accounts of Churchwardens of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields*, p. 585.
[6] R. Dymond, *History of the Parish of St. Petrock, Exeter.*

In 1426–7 Alice Cooke and Alice Pyppedon presented the churchwardens' accounts. It is singular to find two women serving the office of churchwarden in a parish which, though small in area, was an important one in the life of the city of Exeter, and it may be suggested that one or both of them were widows acting for their late husbands. Two other instances occur of women who presented the churchwardens' accounts in this parish in the fifteenth century, but there is nothing to indicate that they were widows. From 1514 until 1692, when the printed accounts end, no other woman held the office of churchwarden of St. Petrock's.

In the year before her death (1496–7) Dame Isabel Newton of Claverham Court presented the accounts for the parish of Yatton.[1] The Newton family were benefactors of the church, but Dame Isabella had been a widow for some time before she was elected, and had paid over the bequest of ten marks left by her late husband in 1489. In 1547–8, the critical years of the religious rising in the west, Lucy Scele appears as sole warden in the small upland parish of Morebath in Devonshire, and in 1554 Jone Morsse, widow, served there with Thomas at Tymewell.[2]

After the Reformation there was a great change in the parish. The ecclesiastical organization of church people for their own special purposes was used by the State as the machinery for the discharge of various functions for the civil power.[3] The general assembly of adult parishioners developed into the vestry, which was a select body; it was under the obligation of imposing compulsory rates for the relief of the poor and various other purposes. Churchwardens' accounts before the Reformation bear witness to the great devotion of all classes of the parishioners to their church, and it is very rare to find a 'sett' or compulsory impost to provide funds.[4] But the confiscation of church goods, the destruction of images, and other changes dried up the springs of generosity, and it became necessary to impose a church rate for the maintenance of the fabric. The

[1] *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe*, etc., pp. 116, 120.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 218.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. xv, xvi; S. and B. Webb, *English Local Government, the Parish and the County*, pp. 20–25.
[4] *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe*, p. xiii.

duties of the churchwardens were far more onerous, and before the end of the sixteenth century fines were imposed on persons who refused the office.[1]

In the relief of destitution the churchwardens were bound by the later Elizabethan statutes to act as coadjutors with the overseers of the poor, and by several Acts of Parliament they were associated with the constables and surveyors of highways in other business.

The overseers of the poor were appointed by the justices of the peace at Quarter Sessions, and were bound to serve until their successors were appointed. Constables were also appointed by the justices, except in places where the old local courts had survived, and the constable was elected by his neighbours. There is evidence to shew that in rural parishes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the custom was widely observed of choosing the occupiers of different properties and farms to serve for a year in turn, both as churchwardens and as overseers.[2] Even in the sixteenth century there were people who held that women owners of property must serve their turn ; Dr. Cox has noted six instances between 1560 and 1581 of women churchwardens in the small Devonshire parish of Kilmington.[3] In the course of the seventeenth century there were eight at St. Budeaux ; in 1645 Widow Farthing and Widow Shattocke presented the churchwardens' accounts for the Somersetshire parish of Staplegrove.[4] In the Lancashire parish of Ribchester there are six instances between 1674 and 1795 in which women were elected as churchwardens for particular hereditaments ; two of them are described as widows, and in every case they appointed deputies to serve for them.[5]

There were sometimes conflicting opinions as to whether women were liable to serve as churchwardens or as overseers. Instances occur of women who pleaded their incapacity and of justices who exempted them on that ground, while other men failed to see why women should escape their share of the unpaid work of the community. In 1684 an attorney

[1] J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 5, 6.
[2] Webb, *op. cit.* pp. 16–19. [3] Cox, *op. cit.* p. 7.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 7.
[5] T. C. Smith and J. Shortt, *History of the Parish of Ribchester*, p. 175.

appeared on behalf of Mary Jaques before the Court of Quarter Sessions at Derby and alleged 'that she as a woman was not capable of the office [of churchwarden] nor by law compellable to serve it.'[1] The justices ordered Mary Jaques to be discharged from the office and the minister and inhabitants of Wilne to proceed forthwith to a new election. In 1695 the justices at the Derby Court of Quarter Sessions declared that Mrs. Elizabeth Sleigh, being a woman, was incapacitated to serve the office of overseer in the parish of Hartington.[2] But there were later cases at the same Court of Quarter Sessions in which the justices ignored those precedents and appointed women to the position of overseer as a matter of course.

Overseers

In 1788 a very interesting case, *Rex* v. *Alice Stubbs and others*, was tried in the Court of King's Bench.[3] Ronton Abbey in Staffordshire was an extra-parochial township in which there were only three houses. Mrs. Alice Stubbs lived in the Abbey House and held most of the land, while one of her servants and a labourer lived in the other two houses. The appointment for one year of the three residents as overseers of the poor was confirmed at Quarter Sessions. It was argued that the order of the Court of Quarter Sessions should be quashed because one of the persons was a woman, who was incompetent to serve. On the other side it was argued that in the Act of 43 Elizabeth the only qualification for the office was that of 'a substantial householder,' and females were not entitled to exemption. The principal duties of the overseers were to collect the poor rates, settle the parish accounts, and provide work for the poor, all of which could be performed by a female. It was said to be the constant practice of women to serve the office, particularly in Staffordshire, when a case of necessity existed. In reply it was argued that a few instances did not establish the liability of females to serve. They had neither strength of body nor the knowledge requisite to make assessments for

[1] J. Charles Cox, *Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals*, ii 137, 138.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Durnford and Cast, *Term Reports*, ii 395 (ed. 1789).

the relief of the poor, set a value on property, and provide material for work, and moreover it was unseemly for women to make inquiries about bastards, and it might even, if they were young, be prejudicial to their morals. The judges decided that there was nothing in the nature of the office that should make women incompetent. In a case cited in which the justices had refused to approve of a woman, they had not acted improperly, for 'where there are a sufficient number of men qualified to serve office, they are certainly more proper.' The judges held that there was no danger of a general practice of appointing women, 'for it is not likely that the justices will approve of such an appointment when there are other proper objects.'

In the past centuries sex was no bar to the office either of churchwarden or of overseer, and for that reason no legislation was needed in the nineteenth century to enable women to serve as Poor Law Guardians. Although an exhaustive search among printed as well as unprinted sources would yield more names of women who served as churchwardens and as overseers, it was rare for them to hold office. They usually served in small country parishes; where there was a wide field of choice women were not elected or appointed. No woman served the office of churchwarden in the large town parishes of St. Edmund's, Salisbury, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields or St. Mary-at-Hill, London, St. Mary's, Cambridge, or St. Michael's, Bath.

Constables

In the case of *Rex* v. *Alice Stubbs and others*, a distinction was drawn between the offices of overseer and petty constable. It was said that a custom to serve the office of constable by rotation was good, notwithstanding that it might come to a woman's turn, since she was able to procure another to serve for her. The general law, until 1856, was that every township should have a constable, and that it was the duty of every man to serve in turn with no payment except certain lawful fees.[1] It was an unpleasant post,

[1] F. W. Maitland, *Justice and Police*, p. 104.

and, as men often filled it by substitute,[1] it was reasonable that women occupiers should not escape. Dr. Cox has noted three instances of the nomination of women as petty constables in the constabulary papers of Derbyshire.[2] In 1649 Humphrey Hurd, constable of Osmaston by Ashburne, presented Elizabeth Hurd for the office next year, as she had a sufficient man to serve for her ; but, as her son refused to do this, Humphrey Hurd applied for an order to bring Elizabeth ' to the next Justices of the Peace to take an oath.' On April 3, 1649, the constable of Linton presented Elizabeth Taylor, widow, with a written request from the eighteen inhabitants that, as it was the turn of the house in which Elizabeth lived, the Bench would order ' that she may officiate and execute the said office according to our ancient custom.' In 1683 the justices discharged Clare Clay, widow, who was presented by the inhabitants of Sinfin and Arleston, and they continued the last constable in the office until he should present another more fit person as his successor.

Sextons

In 1739 a man who was not elected to the paid office of sexton in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, challenged the right of women to stand for election and to vote. This case, *Olive* v. *Ingram*, was tried in the Court of King's Bench.[3] The new sexton, Sarah Bly, received the votes of 169 men and 40 women, and her opponent had the votes of 174 men and 22 women. He wished the women's votes to be disallowed, although they were ratepayers, arguing that, although women had freeholds and contributed to all public charges, they could vote neither for members of Parliament nor for coroners. The decision of the court was that women were capable of being sextons, and there were many of them in London, and moreover there were offices of greater consequence which had been held by women. As this office was one ' which did not concern the public, or the care and inspection of the morals of the

[1] Webb, *op. cit.* pp. 18, 26–29.
[2] Cox, *Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals*, i 112.
[3] *Reports of Adjudged Cases*, ed. Sir John Strange, ii 1114 (ed. 1795).

parishioners,' there was no reason to exclude women ratepayers from the privilege of voting, and moreover no usage for excluding them was stated; so judgement was given against the plaintiff.

In the Middle Ages women had in fact no civic position, and did not participate in person in local administration. However, they were not debarred from serving as churchwardens, and in this way other duties devolved upon them. In the sixteenth century, when the State used the officers of the ecclesiastical parish for the discharge of civil functions, the woman churchwarden became bound to act as the coadjutor of the overseer; no legislation was passed to relieve women who were 'substantial householders' from filling the office of overseer, though according to custom they might serve by deputy. The question of sex disability or incapacity was sometimes raised both by men and women from motives which are not unknown at the present day, and it was argued in language which is strangely familiar to those who have followed the successive stages of the enfranchisement of women.

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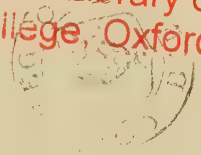

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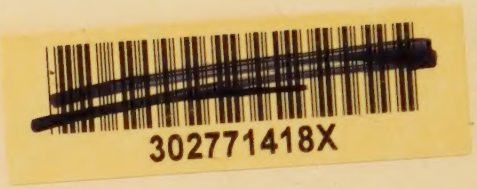
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